

DETENTE IN BOSTON MAURICE deG. FORD

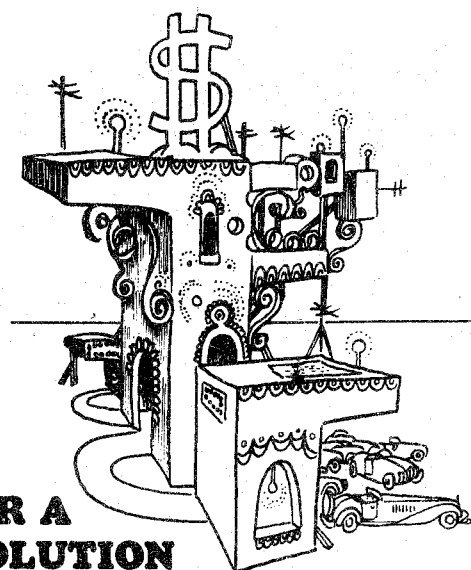
THE NATION

MAY 3, 1975

50 cents

War and the American Character

DAVID M. KENNEDY



PROPOSAL FOR A
MODEST REVOLUTION

A. Richard Konrad

Snow from the Networks Jamming the Fairness Doctrine

WAYNE PHILLIPS

ARTURO BAREA: 'THE FORGING OF A REBEL'
Thomas

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LETTERS

understanding sugar

Washington, D.C.

Chris Welles [in "The Byzantine Sugar Market," *The Nation*, Mar. 22] very capably isolates the economic factors which govern the little-understood sugar industry in the United States. He avoids falling into the trap of emotionalism about a law that is completely outdated by the need of the world for more food.

I sincerely hope that this article will help initiate a new approach to the protection of the American producer, consumer and domestic sugar industry.

Arthur B. Calcagnini
Deputy Administrator, Commodity Operations
U.S. Department of Agriculture

heart or mind

North Hollywood, Calif.

Robert Hatch's whirling dervish review of *Hearts and Minds* [*The Nation*, Apr. 12] . . . after extravagant praise exceeding the raves of most critics . . . spins counterclockwise: ". . . and [not but, curiously] I would be as well pleased if it were not being shown." . . .

What causes our dervish to whirl, apparently, is his . . . objection that the film "operates to arouse hatred against hatred, to induce a gut reaction against gut reactions, and by so doing serves to sustain a morbid emotionalism of the very sort it claims to abominate." And he goes on to complain: "What do we gain by glaring at the chopfallen Johnson or sneering at the infamous hypocrisy of Nixon?"

A great deal! Polemics (and demonstrations, which are body language collective polemics) caused LBJ's chops to fall and Nixon to resign in disgrace. *Hearts and Minds* is just such a polemic, so necessary in the Time of the Toad. It advocates hatred, yes, but the clean hatred of oppression bolstered by falsehood—as Twain displayed in his blistering attack on King Leopold. It is not "blinding," but illuminating and does not equate with the hateful-ness of the evildoers. Hatch's reasoning is wholly fallacious. . . .

John Bright

Los Angeles, Calif.

Robert Hatch said what had to be said about *Hearts and Minds*. Apart from its agit-prop values, it does indeed create the kind of hatred which comes close to vigilantism. When I saw it, part of the audience applauded when a U.S. plane was shot down. Moral: the life of an American is worth less than the life of a Vietnamese. One can say anything he likes about the immorality of the U.S. Government vis-à-vis Vietnam, but to show contempt for American dead or for American grief is, in this context, to show contempt for life itself. I confronted producer Burt Schneider with this view. He denied it, of course, but he could not defend the selection of U.S. images versus Vietnamese images—and that's the point. I have a hunch you'll have some yelping at your legs. Congratulations.

Michael Blankfort

pioneer

Los Gatos, Calif.

Alice Marquis' interesting article on drip irrigation [*The Nation*, Apr. 5], overlooked an important pioneer effort in Northern California. Richard Graff's Chalone Vineyard sits high above the Salinas Valley and has a drip system begun in 1969.

Charles L. Sullivan

collecting Lear

We have been commissioned by the Oxford University Press to edit a new collection of Edward Lear's nonsense, and we would like to appeal through your columns for drawings, letters or other Lear manuscripts, whether nonsense or otherwise, that your readers may have. We will take great care of any material entrusted to us, and will pay postage or reproduction costs.

Vivien Noakes, Charles Lewsen
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EDITORIALS

Vietnam in 1976

Thieu's resignation comes too late to help in furthering negotiations for a formal end to the war in Vietnam, but it does bring that end a bit nearer. His belated resignation was in character; so too has been the strange behavior of Ambassador Graham Martin in the final tragic hours of the debacle; newsmen and others have not hesitated to characterize him as being mad as a hatter. That this country should be represented in Saigon by a man so weirdly out of touch with reality is a symbolic coda to the long story of U.S. idiocy in Indochina.

Despite Presidential assurances, the issue of responsibility for the collapse of the Saigon regime will be raised in next year's election; the only questions are, to what extent, in what form? Thieu's charge of betrayal by Kissinger, his emphatic reference to a "solid pledge" by Nixon of renewed American intervention if necessary, and the refusal of President Ford to release the exchanges between his predecessor and the Saigon puppet, foreshadow the debate to come. Ford has said that he does not intend to raise the issue, but he has already raised it on a number of occasions, and in his recent televised interview again said that he shares Thieu's views on the effect of the cutoff in military aid. This, too, is the publicly stated view of Vice President Rockefeller. Significantly, a war of full-page ads is starting, always a sign that an issue is being honed for early use. The most recent such ad, captioned, "Listen, America: Vietnam Is Calling," sponsored by the Emergency Committee for a Free Vietnam, and signed by fifty certifiable cold warriors, appeared in *The New York Times* on April 21. To date, right-wing politicians have elected to speak very softly on behalf of further aid. They obviously did not want to be put on record as having urged renewed direct U.S. military involvement as long as there was any risk that their advice might be accepted. But once Vietnam, like Cambodia, has been lost "irretrievably"—with no possibility of direct U.S. involvement—they can be relied upon to launch a counterattack, if only to divert attention from their responsibility for a tragically mistaken policy and by way of undercutting détente with Russia and China and stimulating demands for even larger Pentagon appropriations. A few "blood baths" would help their public relations efforts, and they need not wait for verifiable instances: Ambassador Martin's comments and dispatches will suffice. A suggestion of what may be anticipated can be found in Ronald Reagan's demagogic statements of recent weeks. Governor Wallace is relatively silent on the issue at the moment—he does not like to be drawn into areas that do not fit the pattern of his set speech—but he can be expected to join the feuding once it starts.

Some observers doubt that there will be a repetition of the bitter debate over China that began in 1950, if only because both parties share responsibility for Vietnam, whereas it was the Democrats who "lost" China. President Ford, as the sponsor of Kissinger and successor to Nixon, occupies an exposed position and perhaps would like to see the issue muted. But the right wing of his party will not be cooperative and so he must, from his point of view, con-

Cover drawing: Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

tinue to point the finger at the Democratic majority in Congress. But there is a more fundamental reason why the issue of Vietnam will be with us next year: the consequences cannot so easily or so quickly be placed behind us. Ambassador Martin is quoted (*Time*, April 21) as saying that we cannot expect Vietnam to go away next year, as Voltaire said, "to be obscurely hung," and, in this instance at least, he is right. And there is truth in a recent editorial comment by *The Wall Street Journal* that demagoguery arises not when serious people debate controversial issues but "when serious people refuse to face serious issues." At the moment there is little to indicate that the American people want to face the serious issues raised by their involvement in Vietnam, but if they do not, they may be tempted to alleviate a widespread sense of guilt by responding to demagogic incitements. The best way to prevent that in 1976 is to insist that scapegoating be avoided but that the reasons for our disastrous involvement be seriously discussed. A sense of guilt is, in any case, our heritage from Vietnam, and we can best live with it if we understand why we did what we did.

Kissinger's Credibility

The President and Secretary of State Kissinger are deeply concerned about this country's loss of credibility, but it is less the nation's credibility that is at issue than the credibility of the Secretary of State. Kissinger's word has depreciated to the vanishing point. It began to do so with the controversy over his responsibility for the "national security" wiretaps. By staging his celebrated Salzburg tantrum he more or less coerced the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into giving him the benefit of the doubt. But subsequent disclosures point to the conclusion that he told less than the full truth about the wiretaps. His former colleague in the Nixon White House, William Safire, has leveled a direct charge that Kissinger lied to him about having ordered a tap on the phone in Safire's residence. More recently, Safire offered convincing evidence that Kissinger also lied when he denied having been the source of news stories from Vladivostok touting President Ford's prowess as a negotiator. In this instance Safire felt free to disclose his sources after Kissinger had written a 3-page letter to *Harper's* denying Safire's version of what had happened.

But even before the wiretaps, Kissinger had set the pattern of saying one thing in public and then passing along privately the word that contradicted it. He repeatedly tried to con the doves with off-the-record interviews in which he posed as the voice of reason within the administration; whereas, as we now know, he not only abetted but encouraged the retaliatory air strikes and similar measures in Cambodia and Vietnam. Asked quite specifically if any secret agreements were involved in the Paris peace accords, he replied categorically: "there were no secret understandings." Circumstances indicated the contrary, but the press, as it has done before and since, failed to press him for more emphatic and inclusive denials. He tried to make it appear that the disastrous turn of events in Indochina accounted for the failure of his shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East. The Israelis denied that it had been a factor. While appearing to absolve both Egypt and Israel of re-

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sponsibility for the breakdown of the talks, he privately pointed the finger at Israel. Then he met with a group of twenty Senators and later passed on the word privately that he had found their reaction to be "violently anti-Israel," a report denied by Senators who were present.

Indeed, Kissinger's troubles with the Congress stem directly from the fact that he has deceived individual members on important policy questions. He would have us believe that the failure of Congress to vote further military aid accounts for the debacle in Vietnam, but he never expected the Paris accords to last more than two years which, almost to the day, has proven to be an accurate forecast. Perhaps Nixon never said that Kissinger was "unstable" but his actions confirm the judgment. He is vain, suspicious, obsessed with power, amazingly insecure and morbidly sensitive to criticism. When someone in the White House leaked word that President Ford would like to see him step down as head of the National Security Council, Kissinger staged another tantrum and Ron Nessen felt compelled to fire an assistant who was supposed to have been responsible for the leak. Yet the circumstances suggest that it was Kissinger who leaked word of the leak, the better to secure his standing with Ford.

It was once fashionable to assume that most diplomats lied as a matter of course, it was part of the art. Ambrose Bierce once defined "diplomacy" as "the patriotic art of lying for one's country." But lying for reasons of state, to withhold some of the truth on sensitive matters for a limited time and particular reason, is not on a par with lying to burnish the diplomat's image, to deceive colleagues or mislead members and committees of Congress. In today's world of instant communications such tactics are short-sighted, if nothing worse. The truth emerges much sooner than it did in the days when dispatches were carried by couriers on packet ships. And Safire says correctly that the "diplomacy of negotiation is not the diplomacy of duplicity." Of Kissinger one can repeat the old saw that he lies when it would better serve his purpose to tell the truth.

"There is an ambivalence toward Kissinger," Abe Kubinovich reports from Jerusalem in *Newsday*, "that the Israelis have not been able to resolve in the year and a half since he became a central figure in their lives. They are unsure whether he has come to save them from a world turned hostile or to use his cleverness to sell them out. According to public opinion polls, something like the latter feeling seems to be gaining ground." When he discovered, as he did recently, that the attempt to blame Congress for the debacle in Vietnam was not playing well—even in Peoria—he cynically switched scapegoats and began to point the finger at the Soviet Union and China. He has melancholy misgivings about the retreat from the "internationalist premises of the postwar period," when the thrust of his diplomacy is what has undercut those premises. He stresses the "necessary confidentiality of diplomacy" and the need for "flexibility" and, in the same breath, spurns "an abstract purity of motive" for which "history offers no example." That may sound sophisticated and profound but it is neither; Kissinger has apparently never read the works of John Jay Chapman. He speaks of the need for "constancy, confidence and coherence," but he has never demonstrated much confidence in this country's traditional political ideals, is obviously out of touch with its present

mood and increasingly lacks credibility with Congress, the press and large sections of the public. He will probably stay on for the balance of Ford's term—he is a master of bureaucratic intrigue and infighting—but despite the breakthroughs with Russia and China he cannot be expected to lay the foundations for a new American foreign policy—if only because of the degree to which his credibility has been damaged.

The U.N. in Indochina

In these days of defeat and guilt searching, the United Nations is enduring a campaign of denunciation for alleged indifference and passivity in the face of tremendous suffering in Indochina. Those behind this talk, reflected in the American press, wanted the U.N., and its Secretary-General personally, to assist in a massive airlift of South Vietnamese refugees trapped in diminishing coastal enclaves at the time when the North Vietnamese and Vietcong Armies were marching south. At the present stage of the debacle, they would like Kurt Waldheim to appeal to all parties for a cease-fire and ask that Saigon be declared an open city.

To say that the U.N. does not have the means, or its Secretary-General the authority, to undertake such actions is a weak answer which, if it were the only reason, would indeed demonstrate once more the ineffectiveness of the organization. It is clear that, behind these *pro forma* answers, given to avoid polemics, especially with the U.S. Government, was Waldheim's political decision not to become involved at this late stage on the side of the Saigon regime. A U.N. role was rejected by all parties during the twelve-year conflict, and Mr. Waldheim was given a back seat at the Paris Peace Conference. Although the Secretary-General has continued to offer the facilities of the United Nations to all parties "for the purposes of putting an end to the conflict and alleviating the vast human suffering which it has caused," he has also stressed time and again that no action on his part would serve those aims if it was opposed by one of the principals.

To set the record straight, on March 30, the Secretary-General received a communication from the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Vietnam asking him to invite U.N. member states to participate in the evacuation of the South Vietnamese refugees, and to appeal to Hanoi and the Vietcong to cease fire in order to permit such evacuation. This request was supported a few days later by U.S. Ambassador John Scali. In response, Mr. Waldheim addressed an appeal "to all who may be in a position to help to do everything within their means to relieve the plight of innocent persons, including those who have been displaced." He further appealed to "the governing authorities concerned on all sides of the fighting that effective efforts be made to limit the suffering of innocent people, especially women and children." The statement of the Secretary-General referred to "the increasing suffering and the mounting death toll among the civilian population of Indochina" (not only Vietnam). In order to make clear what kind of assistance he had in mind—and for whom—he suggested that donors contribute to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "both of which have programs of humanitarian assistance on both sides of the conflict."

Since that time, as the picture changed swiftly and dramatically, both in Vietnam and in Cambodia, the U.N. has mounted a large-scale operation of emergency aid—food, clothing, shelter and medical supplies—for the civilian population of Indochina on all sides engulfed in the last waves of war. On April 16, the Secretary-General appealed for \$100 million for such assistance. He has already received pledges for more than \$10 million, to be deposited in a special account set up in New York. The coordinator for assistance to Indochina is Sir Robert Jackson, an Australian experienced in this type of operation with UNRRA after World War II and more recently in Bangladesh. Whether the United States will see fit to channel part of its humanitarian assistance through this fund remains to be seen.

Today, the Secretary-General is finally in a position to make good his offer, submitted to the Paris conference in February 1973, to coordinate international relief and rehabilitation assistance to the governments and peoples of the area "without discrimination of any kind." UNICEF, perhaps the only U.N. agency with a clear conscience, has been operating in all parts of Vietnam for many years. With a program for the Republic of Vietnam dating from 1952, including health services and water supply to schools and hospitals, it first started contacts in 1970 with Hanoi through the North Vietnamese Red Cross. In a protracted and complicated transaction, it purchased in 1971, with Dutch and Swiss money, Russian-made cloth for children of the Vietcong and North Vietnam. This shipment was delayed in transit through China, which was not eager to speed up Soviet aid to Hanoi, and arrived in 1973.

In late 1973, UNICEF undertook a \$44-million program of assistance and rehabilitation throughout Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos). The United States contributed funds, with the proviso that its share for Vietnam be sent exclusively to the Saigon authorities. In early 1975, emergency help for Cambodia was intensified, especially for Phnom Penh, where \$32,000 worth of milk powder, high protein food and medicine was sent in March. Equipment for health centers had been sent to the area under Khmer Rouge control in November 1974. In the last week of March, following an urgent request from Saigon that was prompted by the refugee problem, \$950,000 worth of supplies in the form of food, drugs and tarpaulin for shelter was sent to South Vietnam under the Republic's control. All in all, UNICEF has spent \$5 million for Vietnam and Cambodia since mid-March, and it estimates it will need tens of millions more in the next three months.

On April 2, UNICEF received for the first time a large shopping list from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (Vietcong) for the civilian population. Another U.N. agency, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, which had operated a \$12-million program for the resettlement of refugees on agricultural projects in various parts of Indochina, has been added to the effort, the activities of the two agencies being merged. In addition, the World Food Program, still another U.N. agency, has allocated \$6 million for supplies to Vietnam and Cambodia.

With these programs, the U.N. is the only organization, other than the Red Cross, to put humanitarian considerations above political ones in the tragedy of Indochina. This approach, in the view of Mr. Waldheim, is the one most

likely to be effective. A political approach, which may become easier now that President Thieu has resigned, can best be made in the framework of the Paris agreements, which have been violated by both sides, but still contain the most promising mechanism for peace.

Anne Tuckerman

TV Guides

Irate New Jersey residents, dissatisfied for years with the derisory coverage given their concerns by New York and Philadelphia television stations, have won possibly significant concessions from the New York outlets of the three networks and Metromedia. In return, members of the New Jersey Coalition for Fair Broadcasting have agreed to drop threatened FCC license renewal challenges against the four. Negotiations are continuing with the remaining stations in the two cities.

The concessions are less than earthshaking—full-time reporters will be assigned to New Jersey, more time will be devoted to state issues on interview shows, etc., and Governor Byrne reportedly still thinks of challenging the renewals of all the New York-Philadelphia stations, if not the basic structure of the area's television market, which makes New Jersey one of only two states with no commercial VHF outlet. And broadcasters, once public-spirited groups have made their deals and retreated to private life, have been known to be less than vigilant about keeping their promises. They need to be watched.

Still, given the miserable *status quo* (see Daniel M. Gaby's "State of Ignorance: New Jersey's TV Blackout," *The Nation*, April 5), the concessions are welcome. They show once again that at least some needed changes can be forced upon recalcitrant broadcasters by activists who use the FCC license renewal process in the general interest. Broadcasters detest becoming involved in protracted renewal disputes: they cost small fortunes in legal fees even when won, and large fortunes when, as does sometimes happen, the FCC decides to enforce the law and deny renewal to violators of its rules and standards. So intent are they to avoid such hazards that broadcasters have made some innovative deals—agreeing to minority training programs, equal employment practices, more coverage of groups within their markets, diffusion of media ownership, even the maintenance of threatened programming formats—to persuade reformers to drop their FCC actions.

Because they know challenges can be a useful tool for those who insist that the airwaves be used in the public interest—as federal law requires—broadcasters have for years been trying to get protective legislation from Congress. But with vigorous research and lobbying, and some luck, the reformers have so far been able to block passage of bills that would extend the license term to five years (from the current three) and insulate broadcasters from many of the challenges that threaten them today.

If the broadcasters and their agents get their way with Congress, even such concessions as those won in New Jersey will become rare. The law says the airwaves are owned by the people—not the broadcast licensees. For that to matter in federal radio and television regulation, groups like the Coalition for Fair Broadcasting will have to keep fighting.

The Schools: Detente in Boston

MAURICE deG. FORD

Boston

A novel approach to school desegregation and the turbulent situation in Boston has recently been proposed to federal district Judge W. Arthur Garrity. Early in February he appointed four distinguished masters (thus, officers of the court) to hold hearings and recommend a plan for citywide school desegregation, scheduled to take place next September. The masters included Francis Keppel, former U.S. Commissioner of Education and former Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education; Edward McCormack, Jr., nephew of former House Speaker John McCormack and former Massachusetts Attorney General; Charles Willie, Harvard professor of education, and Justice Jacob Spiegel, retired from the bench of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Experts appointed by the court to assist them were Boston University Dean of Education Robert Dentler and Associate Dean Marvin Scott.

Judge Garrity's order of last summer, designed to get the desegregation process underway by pairing schools in South Boston and Roxbury, led to massive resistance and violence, as well as charges of judicial dictatorship and insensitivity to community concerns. And it was conceived as only phase one, to bring about partial desegregation. With the ethnic peninsulas of East Boston (almost completely Italian) and Charlestown (heavily Irish) next scheduled to share the burden of desegregation, the fear has been that all hell will break loose. Bomb threats to blow up the bridges connecting Charlestown to the mainland and to destroy the tunnels between East Boston (site of Logan International Airport) and Boston proper have already been received and are taken seriously.

Now the masters have submitted their report. In it they recommend involvement of seventeen Greater Boston colleges and universities and the business community in public school education to an unprecedented, and excitingly innovative, extent. The lack of "quality education" in Boston, which does not command the resources of the suburbs, has been a complaint of both black and white parents. The masters wanted to remedy that situation and, indeed, to make some schools so attractive that parents would forget about the color of students at the end of their children's bus rides.

Colleges and universities are assigned to work with specific schools and school districts. Harvard is to work with the students and staff of Roxbury High School. The University of Massachusetts has been designated to work with the South Boston community school district at all levels. M.I.T. has agreed to work intensively to redesign high and middle schools in East Boston into citywide magnet schools, stressing engineering, aviation maintenance technology and environmental protection. The latter two areas are of particular concern to residents of East Boston, worried about jobs for their children and extensive noise pollution from low-flying jets using Logan Airport.

Maurice Ford, a tutor in Dunster House at Harvard College, is at work on a book entitled A Liberal Dilemma: The Supreme Court and the Idea of Equal Educational Opportunity. His "Field Trip to South Boston" appeared in The Nation of October 26, 1974.

Many of Boston's major corporations, among them the John Hancock and Prudential life insurance companies, Gillette, the First National Bank of Boston and the New England Telephone and Telegraph Co., are asked to join in the new partnership with the public schools. This, coupled with M.I.T.'s involvement in the rethinking and redesign of technical training, will help bring Boston's vocational and technical training more into the 20th century and provide new, badly overdue, hope for the majority of students in Boston, who do not plan, and often cannot afford, to attend college. Labor unions have also agreed to collaborate.

What exactly the colleges and universities will do is not spelled out in the plan, and already it is raising major problems. The president of the Boston Teachers Union has announced that he will oppose any attempt by college and university personnel to pre-empt the role of teachers. Members of the Boston School Committee are more furious. They view the masters' plan as a way to insure that "the people who elected us will have less control over school policies." In a brief filed with Judge Garrity, the school committee said: "We observe what appears to be a sharp note of paternalistic superiority expressed by the masters in their rather open disparagement of the efforts of professionals within the school system to provide a quality education for the pupils they serve."

As anyone who has read Peter Schrag's *Village School Downtown* is well aware, there are likely to be conflicts between school of education officials or teachers and administrators of the inbred Boston public school system over the most desirable methods of teaching children. And certainly the school committee is right that the legitimate, elected representatives of the people should control school policy, which affects most families in many important ways. But the universities have tried to show their awareness of these concerns. President Derek Bok of Harvard emphasizes such awareness in his letter to the masters accepting the university's involvement:

As a first step, we need more information and knowledge about ways and means to make effective contributions to improving the quality of the Boston School System. We would like to make clear at the outset that our institutions do not desire to enter the governing structure of the Boston School System. We are also aware of the wide variations among our institutions in the nature of the services they can render and expect that these variations will be reflected in the contracts that may be drawn.

Like most students of contemporary city life, President Bok has reservations about the ability of idealistic, well-intentioned, university-trained, "good government" types to fashion quick solutions for the complex problems of urban education.

The very depth of the crisis confronting Boston since the opening of school last fall may have been the spur to the masters' imaginative enlistment of university and business assistance. As two participants in the secret meeting at which the metropolitan area educational institutions agreed to furnish their resources to the masters put it:

"There was a feeling of 'Yes, we've got to do it, but, damn it, how do we do it?' No man in his right mind signs a blank check, but this is one of those rare occasions in life when that's exactly what you do. It's a leap of faith." President John Silber of Boston University summed up the situation:

If there were no civil rights issue involved, the public schools of Boston would nevertheless face a crisis—a crisis of inadequacy and mediocrity. Integration across school lines in a system in which few schools are distinguished and most are substandard is at best a dubious achievement, an empty formalism in lieu of genuine educational opportunity. . . .

If we give generously of our best faculties and facilities, we can transform the school system of Boston into a model for the nation. . . .

Boston school committee member Kathleen Sullivan agreed. While critical of the masters' plan for seemingly depriving the committee of some of its policy-making functions, she believed it, nonetheless, "far superior to the [other plans] because of its focus on improving the education of children of the city of Boston." Miss Sullivan is also one of the authors of a bill, now before the Massachusetts legislature, which provides for desegregation through the creation of a metropolitan Boston school system. But this bill is running into serious trouble, due to both black and suburban opposition—the blacks arguing that it may divert jobs and money away from Boston schools. So this resistance, coupled with the Supreme Court's curtailment of judicial power to order metropolitanization in its Detroit decision, makes it more probable than ever that a solution will have to be arrived at within the confines of the city itself.

The masters' recommendations on bussing—dread word to much of Boston—were less extensive than had been feared when Judge Garrity first appointed them. Whereas approximately 17,000 students are now being bussed under last fall's court order for *partial* desegregation, the masters estimated that *citywide* desegregation could be achieved next September with a maximum of 14,900 students (and perhaps a minimum of 10,700) being compulsorily bussed. In the week of hearings following the release of the masters' draft report, the Boston school committee questioned these estimates as being too low, but the masters stayed with them in their final version. To achieve such comparatively low figures, they suggested that many students could voluntarily transport themselves to school over Boston's extensive public transit system, with the city and state subsidizing the expense. And while they refrain from ordering *compulsory* bussing in some school districts, such as to South Boston High School (the scene of so much trouble), they recommended that the school committee might do well to provide busses in order to "insure safety and attendance." The masters tried hard to come up with a plan palatable enough to have a chance of working in an admittedly explosive situation.

To achieve its results, the plan divides Boston into nine, strangely shaped but geographically coherent, "community" school districts. The masters obviously hoped to appeal to those fashionable, and many believe educationally important, sentiments of the late 1960s and early 1970s—decentralization and community control. Within any

community school district, the maximum one-way distance traveled by bus would be 5 miles, with the average being 2.8 miles. In addition to the nine community school districts, the plan created a tenth, citywide school district that is to emphasize innovative and distinctive programs of instruction (it is here, presumably, that the universities can make major contributions). The hope, as noted earlier, is that these "magnet schools" will attract children of various ethnic and racial backgrounds from all over the city.

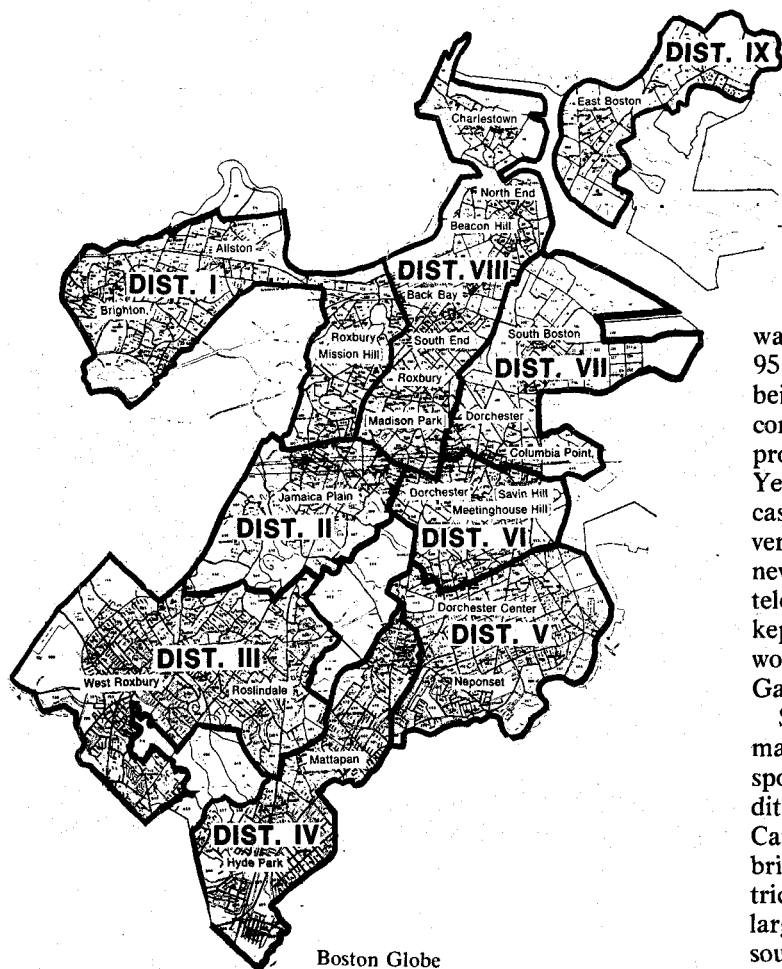
The masters' plan is a compromise—designed to make the best of what has become a very distressing situation. It consciously drew elements from each of the principal desegregation plans which had been submitted to Judge Garrity by the parties and others over the course of the proceedings. It tries to achieve desegregation while, at the same time, preserving as much as possible of the integrity of the city's neighborhoods. It gives parents and students, both of whom can serve on community district school boards, a voice in school policy. Minority parents and students may value this the most; no one can remember when one of them was elected to the Boston school committee.

The liberal *Boston Globe* was, originally, lavish in its praise of the masters' plan which, it urged, contained "something for everyone" and went "far beyond the basic arithmetic of racial mixing to involve the whole community in an educational program that could make the Boston school system one of the best in the country." Editorially, the *Globe* stressed the need for compromise to heal the wounds of a troubled city.

The judicious mind is often disposed to compromise, yet some of the compromises made in the masters' plan were open to serious question. First, and most important, three of the nine proposed community school districts remained seriously imbalanced racially. The East Boston community school district, separated from the rest of the city by Boston harbor, and overwhelmingly Italian, was 95 per cent white. The ironically named Jeremiah Burke community school district was to be, according to the masters' own projected enrollment figures, 50 per cent black, 25 per cent "other" (mainly Puerto Rican) and only 25 per cent white. On the other hand, the West Roxbury community school district, located in one of the more affluent sections of the city where many schoolteachers and administrators live, continued to be safely about 92 per cent white.

Not all blacks objected to these disparities. State Sen. William Owens, a member of the legislative Black Caucus, stated that many black parents would find the plan acceptable, especially as it held out some promise for a modicum of black community control (in the Burke district): "I've never been hung up on a fifty-fifty balance or anything like that. . . . The quality of education and freedom of the individual student to get the kind of education he wants is more important than the percentage of youngsters in any particular school." And it is true that the social science evidence linking school integration to improved educational or attitudinal achievement is murky.

However, lawyers for the NAACP, which was the prime mover behind the Boston school desegregation suit and which saw Judge Garrity's ruling last June as a major victory, were more skeptical. Both the NAACP and the Mas-



Boston Globe

sachusetts State Board of Education (which oversees the implementation of the state's liberal racial imbalance law) challenged the plan for failing to meet federal constitutional desegregation standards. There was good reason for this challenge.

Judge Garrity's initial opinion, finding the Boston school committee guilty of intentional segregation, drew heavily upon the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, which holds that "petitioners are entitled to have schools with a combined predominance of Negroes and Hispanics included in the category of 'segregated' schools." According to that decision, once it has been demonstrated that intentionally segregative conduct has affected a substantial portion of the students and teachers in a school system—as Judge Garrity found to be the case in Boston—system-wide desegregation is required.

There is language also in the *Keyes* opinion which allows portions of a city that are geographically quite separate to be exempt from system-wide desegregation. Early in the proceedings, the Boston school committee had argued that both Charlestown and East Boston met these criteria. But, in his original June 1974 opinion, Judge Garrity explicitly rejected these arguments. East Boston, he found, was "in no way isolated," being connected to the center of the city by "two double-lane one-way tunnels." Unless subsequent bomb threats to blow up the tunnels and the disorders which took place in South Boston throughout the fall have persuaded him very much otherwise, there seemed little

way that Judge Garrity could uphold the masters' proposed 95 per cent white East Boston community school district as being consonant with his earlier pronouncements and the constitutional standards. The same held true with the proposed 92 per cent white West Roxbury school district. Yet throughout the trial in the Boston school desegregation case thus far, Judge Garrity has gained a reputation as a very active, curious judge, one who reads practically every newspaper and watches the coverage of desegregation on television. Many speculated that, similarly, he must have kept in close touch with the masters and that their plan would not have been released if it were known that Judge Garrity might veto it.

Second, despite constant references to it in the plan, many of the districts drawn by the masters appeared unresponsive to "community," if the word is used in any traditional sense. Charlestown, for example, a tight Irish Catholic little island, linked to the rest of the city only by bridges, is lumped into the same "community" school district as the Italian North End, Beacon Hill, Chinatown and largely black Roxbury and Madison Park. There is one sound transportation reason for this linkage, inasmuch as a major rapid transit line runs the length of the new district, but are there reasons of "community" for creating it? What seemed to be lacking in the masters' plan, as it is in so many discussions of the subject, was any clear notion of the meaning of "community."

Third, while they were, in general terms, delighted by the prospective involvement of universities and business, attorneys for the plaintiffs wondered what relation this involvement bore to desegregation, the central issue. To be sure, the experimental curricula of magnet schools will attract some children who might not otherwise attend because of feelings about integration, but how much prejudice or fear of violence will thus be overcome remains to be seen. The great danger was that, under the banners of "community" and "educational innovation," the masters might be unwittingly permitting unconstitutional conditions to continue.

The task before Judge Garrity, as he decided what to do with the masters' report, was not easy. To what extent should he incorporate into constitutional law the innovative compromise drawn up by the distinguished men whom he had appointed? Throughout, as anyone who has been in his courtroom should know, Judge Garrity has shown enormous solicitude for the feelings of those involved with desegregation in Boston. He has tried at every turn not to aggravate an already tense situation—witness his refusal to find three members of the Boston school committee in contempt of court for failing to submit a plan in December. The masters' plan, with its "something for

everybody," might have been the most graceful exit from a difficult situation.

In his first public remarks after the release of the masters' plan, Judge Garrity showed a disposition to approve most of it. He seemed to place many of his hopes for peaceful desegregation next fall in the belief that the colleges and universities will bring the magnet schools to such a high level of quality that white parents will be willing to send their children to magnet schools in black areas and black parents will be willing to send theirs to schools in white areas. Many people, however, doubted that this would happen in significant numbers.

At the same time that he has pinned his hopes on the involvement of the universities and colleges, Judge Garrity has tried to assuage the fears of the Boston school committee: "By the way, just to allay any anxieties which I gather are fairly widespread . . . the court has no intention whatever of undertaking to deprive the school committee of its responsibility and prerogatives of determining what goes on in the schools of the city of Boston. . . ." Nonetheless, a great lack of clarity still remains about the role of the universities and colleges. Much will depend upon the skill with which the contracts are drawn up between the school committee (or perhaps the State Board of Education) and the participating institutions.

The critical issue facing Judge Garrity was whether he could permit the East Boston, West Roxbury and Jeremiah Burke school districts to remain as racially isolated as the masters had recommended. There were great temptations to do so—in the interest of being responsive to "neighborhoods" and ethnic identities and in the interest of achieving a workable compromise and preserving the peace. And, at first, he seemed to indicate that, since he would order "a strict adherence to citywide racial quotas (51 per cent white, 36 per cent black, 13 per cent 'other minorities') in the magnet schools," that would be sufficient to counterbalance whatever constitutional difficulties might arise due to the variance of particular districts from those ratios.

The *Boston Globe*, wishing to avoid a repetition of last fall's "doings" in "Southie" and sensing this predisposition in Judge Garrity, praised him for an apparent willingness "to risk a contrary ruling by a higher court in order to set something in motion that can work for Boston." Newly elected Gov. Michael Dukakis pressed the State Board of Education to withdraw its objections to the masters' plan.

Yet, when there has been systematic segregation to the extent proved in the Boston case, Judge Garrity knew that federal judges must be wary of compromises; and the masters' plan had somewhat more the air of a political document than a judicial one. Although he had no desire to be a "mere arithmetician," Judge Garrity had recalled in his opinion last June what the Supreme Court had said in an earlier case:

... "Awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy to correct past constitutional violations." . . . In Boston the public school population is approximately two-thirds white and one-third black; ideally every school in the system would have the same racial proportions, although as a practical matter there is no prospect of achieving this 2:1 ratio in every school.

Much had happened since June 1974—much that we

never want to see happen again. Yet, as the Supreme Court indicated in *Cooper v. Aaron*, its unanimous 1957 opinion in the Little Rock case when massive resistance was at its height, the amount of public opposition to a desegregation order should not be a factor in carrying it out. "[L]aw and order," wrote the Justices, "are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights." On the other hand, it is no longer 1957. Social scientists are more sensitive now to the values of decentralization and neighborhood decision making in a world that is too often monolithically bureaucratic and in which feelings of having "lost one's roots" abound. Many were curious what balance Judge Garrity would strike between doctrinal principle and practical compromise in ruling on the masters' plan.

At the hearing on April 15, he announced his decision. He ordered the two court-appointed experts to assist the masters in redrawing district lines to make the proposed school districts racially more balanced. The school district including West Roxbury (which would have been 92 per cent white under the masters' plan) will be 58 per cent white and 42 per cent black and other minorities. The Burke district in Dorchester, which had been projected to be 25 per cent white, 50 per cent black and 25 per cent other minorities, will be revised to make it 38 per cent white and 62 per cent black and other minorities. Only the East Boston district, which will still be 92 per cent white, will remain unchanged. "The only way to adjust East Boston—which to me is not an adjustment," said Judge Garrity, "is to transport students [from across the harbor] to the Madison Park district or the Brighton district."

Judge Garrity conceded that the revisions would mean more forced busing and more problems for the city. But he said that the changes were necessary, especially to enhance the effectiveness of the thirty-two citywide magnet schools which the participating colleges and universities would help shape. For had the plan remained as the masters originally proposed, few students would have had sufficient incentive to leave their imbalanced, "safe" district schools for the strictly balanced "magnet" schools.

The modifications ordered by the Judge are not as great as the NAACP and State Board of Education would have liked, and they may still challenge his order on constitutional grounds. Judge Garrity is still trying to show some sensitivity to the practical realities of the situation (especially where East Boston is concerned), although he made clear at the April 15th hearing that "violence, intimidation and white flight" would not influence the design of the plan. Others in the courtroom expressed strong dissatisfaction with the proposed changes. The attorney for the conservative Home and School Association (the equivalent of the PTA) predicted that his revisions would turn the public schools into armed camps and increase "white flight." Attorney Matthew Connolly, representing the school committee, said that the changes would be "a disaster." Judge Garrity, in turn, noting the uncooperative attitude of the school committee, wondered whether the State Board of Education might not appropriately supersede it as the contracting party with the colleges and universities. This suggestion is certain to lead to a new round of disputes. But it may, in the long run, promote that elusive entity, "quality education." □

War and the American Character

DAVID M. KENNEDY

All students of the American character seek to identify those factors that distinguish the experience of this society from the experience of others, factors that give to Americans a unique national identity. David Potter argued in a widely read book, *People of Plenty*, that abundance, an unmatched degree of material prosperity, marked off the American historical experience from that of other societies. Frederick Jackson Turner, probably the most influential commentator on the American character, claimed in a famous essay of 1893 that the frontier, the existence for nearly 400 years of a large area of free land on the North American continent, gave to American history its distinctive qualities.

To those two factors, abundance and the frontier, I should like to add a third: war. My argument, however, will be a bit odd, because I want to suggest that it has been the *absence* of war from American life that has given our history its unique stamp.

That thesis, stated so baldly, requires some qualification. Turner remarked that the era of the frontier in American history had ended in 1890, when the Superintendent of the Census officially declared that no such region any longer existed in the United States. So might we note that we passed from the pacific period of our history in 1941, with the attack on Pearl Harbor and our entry into World War II. Since then, war and militarism have been conspicuous by their presence, not their absence—and it is the contrast between our own era and all those that preceded it that has prompted many of the observations that follow. Turner also argued that traits formed in the age of the frontier would persist even beyond 1890, and so too I shall suggest that certain aspects of American life, nurtured in that long span of our history when we knew not war, have endured, for better or worse, beyond 1941.

Like Turner, too, I shall be suggesting the importance of geography. The accident of geography provided Americans with “free land,” an important characteristic of the frontier. It has been equally true, as the historian C. Vann Woodward has observed, that for much of our history geography quite fortuitously provided us with “free security.” Alexis de Tocqueville saw the implications of this in the 1830s, when he wrote in *Democracy in America*:

War is nevertheless an occurrence to which all nations are subject, democratic nations as well as others. . . . Fortune, which has conferred so many peculiar benefits upon the inhabitants of the United States, has placed them in the midst of a wilderness, where they have, so to speak, no neighbors: a few thousand soldiers are sufficient for their wants; but this is peculiar to America, not to democracy.

Geography, in other words, not collective will or democratic virtue, gave Americans this happy freedom from the necessity for constant military preparedness.

Tocqueville was understandably impressed with this

fact. In the decade prior to his visit to America, his own King, Louis XVIII, had fielded an army of 200,000 Frenchmen against Spain. But when Andrew Jackson came to the White House for his first term in 1829, he found himself Commander in Chief of an army that numbered 6,332. And as late as the eve of the Civil War, while the United States had the second largest merchant fleet in the world, mostly afloat on the Atlantic Ocean, that fleet was protected almost entirely by the British Navy. There was no American fighting Navy worth mentioning. On the eve of the Spanish-American War, in 1897, in an age when every European power had long since adopted universal military service, the United States still had, and would have until 1917, a volunteer army. In 1897 there were slightly more than 27,000 volunteers. In the same decade the French Army counted a little more than half a million men, the German Army just less than half a million, most of them, in both cases, conscripts.

Those few figures suggest at least some of the burdens and obligations from which fortune and geographical isolation spared American society in the 19th century. Unlike every other power of comparable size, population and economic ambition, the United States—virtually alone—did not have to maintain a large standing military establishment.

There were several implications of that simple fact. We might look first to that “dominant individualism,” which Frederick Jackson Turner thought was so distinctively American. Is it unreasonable to suggest that, if individualism was a truly distinguishing American trait, it had something to do with that long period of freedom from compulsory military service? Indeed, especially after 1870, the universal obligation for such service in Europe impelled many young men to leave that continent and come to America. We might also recollect Turner’s remark that the frontier was the factor that had called forth “that buoyancy and exuberance which come with freedom,” that optimism, in other words, which has so often been noted as a characteristic personality trait of Americans. Here again it is not too much to suggest that this trait must have been fostered in some measure, for American men, by freedom from military service. More pervasively, optimism must have been nurtured in an environment largely free from anxieties about national security.

One might also note David Potter’s thesis that economic abundance has distinctively shaped the American character. Was not the absence of war one of the conditions that promoted such great wealth in American society, especially in the 19th century? Here war did not destroy wealth, as happened in so many European societies. Moreover, the negligible cost of American security removed the necessity to divert resources to nonproductive military preparedness. Again, comparative figures are instructive. Between 1820 and 1900, the rough annual averages for military expenditures in Britain, France and Germany ranged from about \$3 to \$6 per capita. In the United States, they ranged from about \$.70 to something slightly more than \$1. As late as 1937, when the per capita cost of maintaining a military

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establishment was \$58 in Germany, \$22 in France and \$27 in Great Britain, it was a bit more than \$7 in the United States. To put the matter another way, until 1937 the major European powers spent from 2 to 10 per cent of national income on military expenses. Excepting the Civil War years, the United States never spent more than 1 per cent. Thus, in the capital-scarce, formative period of the 19th century, it is possible to imagine the rate of capital formation in the United States, and hence economic growth, would have been seriously slowed down if precious surpluses had been sluiced off to pay for a large military establishment, instead of being reinvested in an ever widening stream of economic growth.

So too with regard to the Jeffersonian principle of *laissez faire*, the ideal of small government, with power radically decentralized and atomized through a federal system. That principle owed its realization less to will and virtue, and more to the absence of circumstances that made a strong central government necessary. Tocqueville saw the federal system—the smallness of the government apparatus in America and the general weakness of political institutions—as a defining American characteristic. But in general, he noted, decentralized states were weak and vulnerable in war. He asked himself, “How happens it, then, that the American Union . . . is not dissolved by the occurrence of a great war?” And he answered: “It is because it has no great wars to fear. . . .”

Thomas Jefferson, among many others, foresaw the possible danger that militarism would pose to the American democratic experiment. In 1788 he wrote that war “is the moment when the energy of a single hand [that is, of a tyrant] shows itself in the most seducing form.” He later remarked to his friend Thaddeus Kosciuszko, “In fine, if war takes place, republicanism has everything to fear. . . .” But the United States went from 1815 to 1917 without fighting a single war with a major foreign power. It experienced only four years of war of any magnitude, and that of course was the Civil War, to which I shall return in a moment. The important point to note here, however, is that it was the long absence of any serious threat from a foreign power, and the lack of necessity to prepare for such a threat, that did much to underwrite the success of the American experiment in republican government.

The period of “free security” also shaped a characteristically American attitude toward the conduct of war. As George F. Kennan and others have remarked, Americans, once forced into military endeavors, have consistently pursued strategies of complete annihilation. They have felt that something was amiss when such strategies could not be pursued, as in limited wars like Korea and Vietnam. Russell Weigley has recently explained this phenomenon in *The American Way of War*. Noting Clausewitz’s distinction between wars that seek the overthrow of the enemy, and wars that seek merely some conquests on the enemy’s frontiers, Weigley writes:

As time went on and the military power of the United States grew greater, Americans with increasing frequency fought wars of Clausewitz’s first type, to overthrow the enemy. Indian campaigns early encouraged the notion that the object of war is nothing less than the enemy’s destruction as a military power. The Civil War tended to fix the American image

of war from the 1860s into America’s rise to world power at the turn of the century, and it also suggested that the complete overthrow of the enemy, the destruction of his military power, is the object of war. . . . In the history of American strategy, the direction taken by the American conception of war made most American strategists, through most of the time span of American history, strategists of annihilation.

Thus, for example, in the Civil War Winfield Scott’s proposals to strangle the South slowly, in the so-called “anaconda policy,” gave way to Ulysses Grant’s and eventually William Sherman’s efforts to assault the Confederacy head-on with massive strength. Thus, too, did Woodrow Wilson abandon his “peace without victory” formula in 1917 and come to advocate instead the maximum use of force against the Kaiser’s Germany. And so with Franklin Roosevelt’s insistence on “unconditional surrender” in World War II.

But I have mentioned the Civil War, which must appear at first glance as a massive exception to much of the above. To be sure, the experience of the Civil War, with its horrifying losses in human life and property, does provide evidence to qualify some of the arguments made here. But it does not, I think, refute them entirely. Even in that historic conflict there were peculiarly American characteristics. Thanks largely to geographic isolation, for example, it was the only modern civil war that endured any length of time without foreign intervention. One can imagine a very different history of that war, and a quite different history of the entire slavery question, had 19th-century Americans not lived in an environment where the absence of foreign interference in domestic disputes could be taken for granted.

But other aspects of the Civil War bear more directly on the general thesis that, until recently in any case, America has had a peculiar, even peculiarly happy, experience with war. The argument is especially compelling if one directs attention to the victorious North, where the Civil War embodied all the features that were to typify virtually every subsequent American military engagement.

First, from the Northern point of view, the Civil War was fought somewhere else. There were no major military engagements that deeply penetrated the industrial, populated Northern heartland. Second, the war ushered in an era of immense economic growth for the North, and strengthened the hold of certain Northern elite groups on American political and economic life. Third, and perhaps most important, quite simply, the North won. Victory confirmed, for Northerners, the myth of national righteousness and omnipotence. It nurtured in the minds of Northerners a powerful impulse to self-congratulation, creating what Robert Penn Warren has called a “treasury of virtue” on which the North and indeed the nation as a whole would continue to draw for generations.

True as it is that the South experienced physical destruction, economic setbacks and defeat, and that Southerners have, therefore, a different historical memory of war, all those facts merely serve to emphasize the truth of the contrary for the North. As for the North in the Civil War, so for the country as a whole for nearly a century thereafter: our later wars were relatively distant; they did not interfere with, but rather promoted economic growth;

they conveniently confirmed, time and again, our most cherished and comforting beliefs about ourselves as a virtuous and successful people.

World War I cost Europeans 10 million dead and 21 million wounded. It was a war so destructive as to be nearly universally acknowledged as defining the end of that long era of West European dominance of the planet and the ascendancy of those social classes which had most benefited from that dominance. It occasioned deep disillusion with the regnant moral, philosophical and political ideas of the 19th century. The same war killed slightly more than 100,000 Americans—about 1 per cent of what the European nations lost. In the United States, World War I gave a boost, as the Civil War had done, to rising industrial elites, and it ushered in a period of tremendous prosperity in the 1920s. It reversed the relative financial positions of the United States and Europe, in a transfer of wealth that invites comparison with the current migration of financial resources from the industrial world to the OPEC countries. And the relatively swift victory that followed American intervention confirmed the myth of America as a young, vigorous nation, come to save a decadent and corrupt Europe.

In World War II, the contrast between the American experience and that of the rest of the world was, if anything, even more dramatic. In Europe, there were 30 million dead by 1945, half of them civilians. The industrial and agricultural production of the European powers had been cut by more than half. The Soviet Union had seen more than half its industrial plants utterly destroyed. Sixteen million displaced persons huddled in refugee camps.

Compare that sorry spectacle with the United States. The war had taken about 400,000 American lives, virtually none of them civilians. The index of industrial production in the United States nearly doubled during the war. Gross national product increased from about \$90 billion to about \$170 billion. And the war brought in its train a quarter-century of prosperity and world economic hegemony such as history had never seen, and about which even Americans had not dared to dream.

It is for such reasons that the Civil War, regarded from the Northern point of view, provided the model for nearly all that was to follow. Like the Civil War, World Wars I and II were fought elsewhere; they were the handmaidens of economic abundance; and they were fought in the name of national myths that were crowned by success on the battlefield.

One other feature of the American Civil War deserves at least passing mention. Because of its exceptional and successful character, the war between the states left for Northerners a legacy of ideas and images about war that persisted into the 20th century.

When the United States declared its belligerency in April 1917, most Americans still held a romantic image of war. They viewed it, much as did their forebears in 1861, as a release from industrial routine and an opportunity for individual heroics. But figuring the war in chivalric imagery could not long endure the realities of the trenches, endless shelling, aerial bombardment, tanks, machine guns and gas. An earlier generation had looked to war for a

counterpoint to the drift of peacetime existence toward mechanization, standardization and the impersonal efficiency of large-scale capitalism. But the men who fought in France found, to their eternal disillusion, that modern war was itself the supreme embodiment of those developments. They came to see warfare not as an alternative to modern civilization but as a grotesque fulfillment of all its most hated tendencies. By the time of World War II, few Americans held illusions about war's romance. Propaganda posters then showed no flag-draped goddesses or doughboys modeled on classical statuary. They pictured, rather, frazzled G.I.s, bone-tired and rumpled and grimly determined.

Vietnam no doubt furthered the demystification of warfare in the American mind. Robert Jay Lifton's study, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans, Neither Victims Nor Executioners*, strongly suggests this. Searching for some parallel in recent historical literature to the mental states of his subjects, Lifton concluded that "World War I writings came closest, especially battlefield recollections by Europeans of their responses to that war's dreadful combination of slaughter and meaninglessness." For those Americans who saw combat in Indochina, at least, history seems to have caught up; their ideas about war are cast in the same idiom as those of most other combatants in the modern world.

But the change in our dominant image of war is only one facet of the transformation history has wrought in the relation between American society and the military enterprise. Nineteenth-century Americans saw war as a great danger to democratic institutions and to economic prosperity, but also as a promising arena for personal fulfillment. In our century we have lost all illusions about the heroic possibilities of war; now, ironically, we regard military preparedness as the essential guarantor of our way of life—and as an apparently indispensable stimulus to the economy. If American life in the 19th century was allowed to take on certain distinct characteristics because of the absence of war, we must acknowledge the extent to which the last thirty-five years have reversed that condition and thus constitute a new and singular period in our history.

That reversal is apparent in many areas. To look once again at the familiar notion of American individualism: what might individualism mean in this society, after the Selective Service Act of 1948 placed the obligation of possible military service on virtually every young American male? For more than twenty years the draft constrained millions of individual decisions about education, employment, marriage and even procreation. This phenomenon has not been fully studied. But the desire to shape those decisions was assuredly present in the minds of the people who managed the Selective Service System. A pamphlet published in 1967 by the system says:

While the best known purpose of Selective Service is to procure manpower for the armed forces, a variety of related processes takes place outside delivery of manpower to the active armed forces. Many of these may be put under the heading of channeling manpower. . . . The club of induction has been used to drive [individuals] out of areas considered to be less important to the areas of greater importance in which deferments were given. . . .

Under the Selective Service System, in other words,

individual freedom was, in the system's own view, at least a partial fiction.

So, too, with another trait noted earlier, what Turner called "that buoyancy and exuberance that come with freedom," or the general sense of optimism thought in a bygone epoch to be so characteristic of American life. Think, for example, of some of our most famous and popular books that issued directly out of the World War II experience, like *The Naked and the Dead*, *The Caine Mutiny*, *Catch 22*, or *From Here to Eternity*. They are anything but buoyant and exuberant and expressive of a sense of freedom. They are, rather, shot through with themes of futility, absurdity and resignation. Do not those preoccupations stem in large part from deep anxieties about both individual and national security? And are not those anxieties exacerbated by the suddenness with which America became intricately involved in a volatile, unstable world order, an experience for which 175 years of free security had left the American psyche and American institutions peculiarly unprepared?

In the economic realm, our recent history also contrasts sharply with the more remote past. The long period in which we committed scarcely any resources to the military has given way to an era since 1950 in which the Department of Defense has annually claimed from 6 to 10 per cent of our gross national product. The United States, so innocent of militarism in the 19th century, now spends more than any other nation on the implements of war.

Vietnam, of course, considerably bloated the arms budget. In 1969, James Clayton of the University of Utah calculated that the direct outlays for the war in Vietnam through fiscal year 1970 would be about \$110 billion. Taking into account the historic tendencies of interest rates on the huge war-related federal debt, as well as past tendencies of veterans' benefits, Clayton predicted the total long-run cost of the war at \$330 billion. The 1974 *Statistical Abstract of the United States* puts the cost even higher, computing the ultimate bill at \$352 billion.

Those figures stagger the mind; they can be understood only relatively. Clayton pointed out that spending for Vietnam was one-fifth of the current personal assets of all living Americans, and one-third again as much as the aggregate value of all outstanding home mortgages in the United States. Seymour Melman, in *Pentagon Capitalism*, breaks down the figures this way: the funds expended during *each month* of the war in Vietnam, calculated on an average monthly basis of \$3.5 billion, could have fully endowed four new Rockefeller Foundations, or completely trained 100,000 scientists, or paid an entire year's cost of all state and local police in the United States.

This massive diversion of resources has had other effects. Inflation of course is the most familiar, but there are others less obvious. For example, Melman reports that the 1968 McGraw-Hill survey of metal-working machinery in the United States, a key indicator of the general status of the society's capital stock, showed the United States to have the oldest metal-working machine tools of all the major industrial powers. The survey illustrates how underdeveloped our peace industries have become in an era in which we have devoted our highest priorities to war and military preparedness. Melman also notes that if we factor out that portion of research and development budgets de-



Sheridan's Ride

voted to military matters, American research and development expenses in the last several years have been roughly equivalent in relative terms to those of Belgium—about 1.5 per cent of gross national product. Here lies much of the reason why American industry is today not fully competitive in world markets, and has even seen some of its most sacrosanct domestic markets invaded, by German automobiles, for example, or by Japanese electronics.

There are also, of course, political effects of this new epoch of militarism since World War II. Tocqueville foresaw the consequences of wars—whether hot or cold—for democracies:

No protracted war can fail to endanger the freedom of a democratic country. War must invariably and immeasurably increase the powers of civil government. It must almost compulsorily concentrate the direction of all men and the management of all things in the hands of the administration. If it leads not to despotism by sudden violence, it prepares men for it more gently by their habits. All those who seek to destroy the liberties of a democratic nation ought to know that war is the surest and shortest means to accomplish it. This is the first axiom of the science.

That lesson we have now learned many times over. We learned it in the McCarthy era; we learned it again in the early 1960s when the roster of CIA front organizations was

made public; we are learning it again today with the news of enemies lists, and "plumbers," and domestic spying and all the other things sprung from the rank soil of the cold war.

So history, which Tocqueville once thought had been so good to Americans, now seems to have caught up with us. Now, like other peoples, we know at last the constraints on individual freedom, the dark uncertainties of the spirit, the debilitating distortions in the economy, and the poisonous effect on political life that war and preparation for war have brought.

But there is one last fact about war, the full knowledge of which we are still spared, and which justifies, finally, the thesis that our peculiar relation to war remains a defining attribute of the American character. In a century of total war, when the typical military strategy has been to terrorize, demoralize, and destroy civilian populations, we have experienced neither terror, nor demoralization, nor destruction.

It is not pleasant to ask what would happen if history caught up with us even in this last regard and America one day became a battleground. Given the long lines of internal communication and transportation that could be so easily disrupted, given the great concentration of our population in vulnerable metropolitan areas, given the generally comfortable lives to which so many Americans have become accustomed, given the racial and economic conflicts that only relative peace and prosperity have made manageable, given the deep American hostility to the authority and coercion that necessary martial law would entail—it is especially frightening to contemplate the circumstances in which America might lose this last vestige of its innocence about modern warfare.

But this innocence also nurtures a danger. As the most powerful nation, capable of inflicting the most damage on others, we alone in the world have not felt the pain of modern war in our heartland. Perhaps it is this fact that explains the long, deep acquiescence of our people in the war in Southeast Asia. □

Proposal for a Modest Revolution

A. RICHARD KONRAD

There is a lot of crisis talk about our big economic problems—recession, inflation, the energy shortage and unemployment. But talk is easy, little is done about the problems and that takes us to the heart of the matter. Briefly stated it is this: the real crisis is our inability to *act* on problems which in themselves may not be all that extraordinary. As a political entity, our country lacks the structure to do the planning and to make the decisions necessary to deal with the whole range of our economic problems, and the conventional economic wisdom that initiates whatever patchwork policies we have is blind to the important value questions which must be raised if an intelligent policy is to emerge.

A clear analysis of the situation has not been forthcoming because the people to whom we normally look for some enlightenment on this subject—politicians and economists—are precisely those people whose professional biases would be most threatened by the revelation of our real crisis. Thus the first order of business is to quit listening to what those folks are saying to us.

How does governmental structure inhibit effective policy making? The primary factor is that American government is a rather loose assemblage of *individuals*, who live or die politically according to their ability to attract voters personally. It is a politics of personality and glamour rather than one of party and policy. The present situation is a dramatic illustration of the difficulty this can cause. Although inflation, unemployment, energy and resource shortages have been demanding attention for years, little or nothing beyond some verbal exercises has been done

about them. But when economists made it fashionable to talk about a recession, suggesting a tax cut as a cure, politicians began falling over one another to offer tax-cut proposals. And why not? A little cash for your constituents is a good way to win their love. Not surprisingly, Senator Humphrey entered the rebate sweepstakes with the largest dollar amount offered in any proposal to date. Where Presidential ambitions still exist, it is important to be the most generous candy man on the block.

This kind of politics is not unlike the gesture of John D. Rockefeller's throwing dimes to the poor. It pacifies the people for the time being, and it also postpones the day when the real problem must be faced. A tax cut now means that less money will be available later for extended unemployment benefits, to support a long-overdue health delivery plan and to provide emergency jobs for the growing list of unemployed. Furthermore, the tremendous deficit spending caused by the tax cut will increase pressure on the already beleaguered loan market, and might even keep inflation at a double-digit level. But never mind—we will all have a couple of extra nickels to spend every day. Keep an eye out for the candy man!

It might be argued that bad politics cannot be blamed on the structure of government; that rather it is simply a matter of electing bad politicians. The way to improve the situation, then, would be to "throw the rascals out" and put new and better people in their jobs. That, of course, is a possible solution, but its chance of success is highly doubtful. For as long as a politician stands alone for election, it is likely that he or she will be most concerned (as will the voter) with individual appearance; with personal glamour. It is almost superfluous to run on a policy platform, because, as one among several hundred (taking the case of the Congress), one's influence on overall

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policy is minimal. Indeed, one cannot legitimately speak of *the policy* of the Congress, since the degree of intention connoted by the term is not to be found in the decisions of that body.

Thus a change in governmental structure that puts policy above personality would have a far greater chance of producing intelligent planning than would merely changing individuals within the present structure. (One can hardly fail to notice how quickly new politicians come to resemble the rascals whom they have replaced.) The kind of structural model that obviously recommends itself is one or another of the numerous parliamentary democracies of northern Europe. Such a political arrangement forces party discipline because it puts the choice to the voters of parties that represent policies, rather than individuals running on their charisma. Such a system rewards the group with the best plans; the need to shine individually is at least somewhat mitigated.

Of course this involves eliminating an institution Americans may be reluctant to give up—the Presidency—where the politics of glamour is inflated to absurdity. If we need such an extravagant diversion to keep the *Evening News* in business, perhaps we could maintain the Presidency along the lines whereby the well-functioning Scandinavian countries have kept their monarchies. But the vast executive function of government should not be left in the hands of a more or less politically autonomous person; one who, having achieved office, is no longer responsible to a party for his position of leadership. If parties are to be held accountable for their policies, they must be in control of planning, legislating and executing those policies. Of course, individuals would exert leadership within parties, but they would be directly responsible to the party as a whole, since its authority would be contingent upon the wishes of the whole. With the party as a whole responsible for the outcome of policy, it is likely that much more attention would be given to the extremely important appointive powers of the executive, and to the vast bureaucratic organizations which do so much of the government's work. Legislators would be less likely to acquiesce in bad appointments if they knew *their party*, rather than a

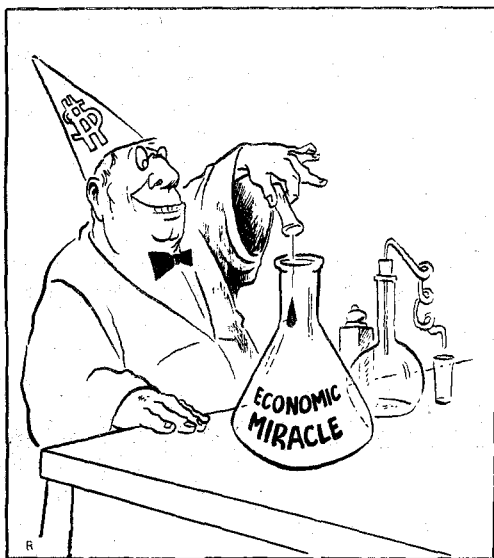
President remote from them, would be held responsible for actions of incompetent appointees. And it is unlikely that bureaucrats would be viewed as aliens* if it were recognized that their work was the actual execution of the policy on which the party would be judged.

It should be obvious that the constant battles between the legislative and executive branches of government preclude any coherent planning. The traditional justification for tolerating such inefficiency is the system of checks and balances. The problem with that argument is that the system referred to is a myth. The broad range in foreign affairs of executive violations of law and Congressional mandates during the past fifteen years (or more) is common knowledge, but the Congress has been unable to check such abuses. Now the Watergate affair has given defenders of the theory new argumentative ammunition. "In a real crisis, the system has worked," they say. But they should be reminded that it took nearly two years after the affair was public knowledge before Congress began to act (on impeachment), and it probably never would have, but for the persistence of a courageous judge, some reporters and a growing tide of public opinion.

A party under a parliamentary system would have worked much more quickly and effectively to check such abuses, as it would have to check Lyndon Johnson's abuses of power. The argument from checks and balances favors a strong party system, not the Presidential form.

Structural change in the government will not alone cure our economic ills. Having the capacity to plan is one thing (and very important); actually doing the job that needs to be done is quite another. That brings me to the second major cause of our crisis: the inadequacy of the data fed into the economic planning process. The most significant shortcoming of conventional economic wisdom is that it formulates problems, and their solutions, strictly in monetary terms. The case of the proposed tax cut will serve again to illustrate.

*The manner in which Richard Nixon always spoke pejoratively of "Bureaucrats in Washington," as if they were completely alien to his function as the Executive, strikes me as more evidence of the consistency of his complete misunderstanding of the government over which he presided.



Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

Everyone recognizes that the economy is in a recession. But what does that mean? To conventional economic wisdom, thinking in monetary terms, it means that not enough money is changing hands; not enough goods are being bought. A tax cut, it is thought, will solve the problem because it will give people the money to buy those things whose sales are slumping—television sets, appliances and especially automobiles, our economic bellwether. Unfortunately (and this erodes public confidence in conventional economic wisdom), such a solution collides with ordinary common sense. The latter tells us how badly such commodities have wasted our metallic resources, consumed our ever diminishing stock of fuel, fouled our air and water, etc. Common sense tells us (with a sigh of relief) that consumers are finally exercising a bit of intelligence.

It is pointless to berate traditional economists for reacting as their educational programming predicts they should. We must simply quit paying attention to them. Their medicine will destroy us, as Robert Bellah has recently suggested ("Roots of the American Taboo," *The Nation*, December 28, 1974):

The economy is like a heroin addict; only another shot of the very profit narcotic that creates a recession will get us out of it. But how many more belts of uncontrolled economic expansion will we be able to absorb before the social and ecological consequences totally undermine our democratic society, not to speak of our national health?

Of course we must provide a basic standard of living for those who cannot afford it, and we need all the tax dollars we can get to do that. But policy decisions based entirely on monetary effects will fall far short of dealing with the real economic problem. A broader range of considerations about use, distribution and availability of commodities is required to avoid social collapse. The whole complex of resources, labor (and unemployment), the desirability of the things produced and, finally, the very quality of life, must all be seen as part of the social fabric that is the concern of economic planning. This means that real economic planning cannot be done merely on the basis of advice from traditionally trained economists.

There is no doubt that many Americans see the economic problem more clearly than do traditional economists and politicians. For example, many liberal writers have argued that the large industrial corporations which completely dominate American economic policy are so constituted that they cannot see anything as a problem unless it results in a loss of profit. (See, for example, David Deitch: "The Managed Depression," *The Nation*, August 31, 1974, and B. J. Widick: "Full Speed to a Roadblock," *The Nation*, January 25, 1975.) So, these writers say, the crucial step is to change the corporate structure. Open it up so that the citizen can make his or her opinions felt on policies to attack real problems and preserve real values. Corporations must be subject to far more stringent government regulation. Workers and ordinary citizens should be involved in the management of industry. In short, we must move in the direction of some sort of democratic socialism.

I do not dispute this kind of approach, but some caution is in order. We must be careful not to become committed to ideologies that may turn out to be simplistic for the job at hand. We must keep in mind what it is that we want—a governmental structure that facilitates planning and uses a broader range of considerations to formulate economic

policy. This care is especially important when we come to line up our allies and prepare to persuade our potential detractors. It will not do to assume, in a classical Marxist sense, that the struggle for required change will be a battle between profit-hungry capitalists and downtrodden workers.

In the first place, the capitalist owners of a corporation—the stockholders—have little or no control over corporate policy, and so do not figure prominently in this analysis. Those in control—the management, or the "technostructure" (Galbraith's term)—are not owners but themselves workers. They are not working for profits, but for a salary and the considerable amount of fringe benefits that could be called social security. Most important, their training in planning, and in working as a member of a team rather than as an individual looking for acclaim, should make this segment of the capitalist world a most appropriate ally for the new political order.

On the other hand, it should be recognized that most organized industrial workers will not automatically welcome a change in point of view from the conventional economic wisdom. They have been conditioned to think of economic well-being strictly in terms of take-home pay. Moreover, they are consumers of all those things that are putting a strain on resources and jeopardizing the quality of life. A change from these habits will not occur simply by wishing, not even by changing the structure of government.

What, then, can be done to bring about the change in behavior patterns that will favorably change the economic complex which is now in crisis? Here my argument may sound conservative. By emphasizing planning in political activity, I do not suggest the formulation of a grand social design, a kind of blueprint with which to build the future after the glorious revolution. Nor will it do to talk about getting people to "change their values" or "reorder their priorities." That sort of talk is too vague to be effective. By planning, I mean that policy makers should have some notion of what they hope to achieve, and keep it in mind as they formulate policies which remove hindrances to and encourage progress toward their goal. If that sounds itself simplistic, it is probably because we are accustomed to think of political activity only as a battle between enemies in different branches of government.

The "goal" needs to be specified, of course, but that should not be difficult. There is probably little disagreement that we need to reduce our waste of resources, stop inflation and reduce unemployment. Without relying on any stroke of genius, practices can be suggested which would help achieve such goals, with no concomitant need to change anyone's values. For example: Many people would like to work shorter weeks and fewer weeks per year. They would value the flexibility which that provided more than the pay that was lost. It would take no great effort to remove obstacles to such a practice, thus employing greater numbers without straining resources or causing inflation. Many people (probably millions) would prefer to bike to work rather than drive, thus saving tens of millions of gallons of gasoline weekly, improving the health of all concerned, not to mention the quality of life. All that is needed are safe places to ride and park bicycles. Space age technology should be able to handle that problem. The \$2 billion being released to spend on highways would create

as many jobs if it were spent building railroads. And building railroad cars calls for work not radically different from building automobiles.

People who put their minds to it could make the list longer and more interesting. And if they stayed on top of the situation when such practices became a reality, they could determine which ones were working, which needed to be scrapped, and what new problems needed to be met. People *might* do that if there were a structure that encouraged it. The only sacrifice might be the loss of an occasional treat from the candy man.

Jefferson said that it might be a good idea to have a revolution about every twenty years. Some 200 years later, with our government structure basically unchanged in a world that is radically different, at a time when we feel paralyzed by problems that may not be all that difficult, is it out of order to suggest that the time has come for a little revolution? The recipe for this revolution calls for brains rather than blood, and it promises no millennium but only the opportunity to deal with our problems. That is not very exciting as revolutions go; I claim only that it makes sense. □

CASING THE DEMOCRATS #6

Dan Walker: Illinois Switch Hitter

DON ROSE

Chicago

Gov. Dan Walker of Illinois is one of the active non-candidate candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination. A highly skilled politician in the anti-politician mold, he understands the odds against him and is therefore still on the sidelines—but not exactly waiting for the lightning to strike.

Despite the controversy that seethes around him at home, he must be considered a serious contender for one of the two top national spots. First, he is Governor of a major Northern state and commands a tough, professional political staff. He is good-looking, quietly theatrical, a master of television and has a proven ability to touch Middle Americans. More significantly, he is in the category of candidates who are most likely to win out over the front runners who are ideologically more identifiable. Aware of this potential, he is carefully positioning himself as an acceptable alternative to both liberal and conservative hard-liners, not by taking dead-center stands, but by reaching out to the extremes.

A politician of profound contradictions, ideologically as well as operationally, he generates impassioned, often wildly emotional, controversy across the board in Illinois. He is seen by many to be totally cold, but he radiates folksiness. He calls himself a liberal on human issues but a fiscal conservative, finding himself most comfortable as a "new Populist." No label applies consistently.

Despite a rocky, confrontation-ridden first two years in office, he may yet score victories on several basic issues, and they will serve him well whether he runs for re-election or attempts to go all the way to Washington. He has held the line on taxes and has a budget surplus—his foremost campaign pledge. He introduced a massive economic recovery program of public works construction that seems likely to lift the state's sagging economy and bring back needed jobs—although it is not without risk. He is riding

Don Rose has served as a consultant to the Illinois Housing Development Authority under both the preceding and the current administrations (those of Ogilvie and Walker). This is a bipartisan board not under the direct control of the Governor.

high on the crucial issue of crime and punishment with a series of powerful, broadly appealing—if debatable—proposals.

At the same time, Walker is a perpetual target for the entire press of Illinois, which attacks both his substance and his style. It has been said that if Walker came out for mother love the media would call it incest. He has also alienated major segments of the liberal-reformist-independent constituency that made possible his extraordinary primary and general election victories of 1972—the former against the Richard J. Daley machine; the latter against a heavy Republican tide.

The vehemence of the condemnation he provokes from liberals and the media alike stems in large part from what they sense as his hypocrisy or betrayal. He launched himself as a staunch liberal reformer; then in the course of his campaign and first two years in office often acted with the expediency and ruthlessness of traditional politicians. It has been argued by some in rebuttal that his political maneuverings have been fewer in number and usually less odious than those of many of his predecessors and contemporaries, but that he himself invited measurement by a standard of absolute purity.

Some cases in point:

—He fulminated against the patronage system throughout two years of campaigning. After winning, he studded his administration with political aides and donors, a few of them considered unqualified for high posts. Public employees were recruited for election work, though in most cases not demonstrably on government time or under coercion.

—He supported an anti-death penalty proposition in the 1970 state constitutional referendum and drew the issue sharply before liberal groups while fighting incumbent Republican Gov. Richard Ogilvie. Walker later signed a new death penalty bill, rationalizing the action by saying the public had supported capital punishment overwhelmingly in that referendum and noting that he watered down the bill through the amendatory veto process. He insists that a full veto would have been overridden and a more barbaric law would have resulted.

—The Daley machine was his sworn enemy in the primary election, and he successfully pinned the machine label on one-time downstate reformer Paul Simon when the latter obtained Daley's support. Two years later Walker taped campaign commercials for two of Daley's county candidates who were most under the reformers' fire (one of them Walker had earlier accused of election fraud).

—A constant critic of "dirty money" campaign practices, he has been charged with permitting his people to muscle contributions from state contractors. His contributors list, disclosed by the press, included marginal characters, some apparently trying to buy influence. The most celebrated instance was that of a rich tavern keeper and slumlord, whose \$50,000 donation—illegal under state law at the time—earned him nomination as head of the department of insurance. He withdrew under fire.

One can fairly observe that most states, and especially Illinois, have had politicians who broke more promises and whose overt acts were far less ethical than Walker's. Thus, his initial pose of purity may well account for the force and persistence of criticism.

Examples of unfair overreaction to him also abound:

—The Illinois Senate vetoed his truly outstanding professional choices to head the Department of Corrections and the Environmental Protection Agency.

—The flap over his first insurance department nominee was so great that it overshadowed a significant number of appointments that merited acclaim, especially in the fields of health and housing.

—Among accurate stories about his campaign money sources, the press published several that were careless. The silliest was an innuendo-filled "exposé" that unions had contributed—as if labor's support of a Northern Democratic gubernatorial candidate should be unexpected or unclear.

Sensitive to the criticism that has become part of his daily life, Walker has developed a host of counter tactics. They have probably broadened his electoral base from its original razor-thin margin. One is the "accountability session," when he goes directly to local communities and takes on questions from neighborhood people, usually in a shirt-sleeves style. Even when these meetings occur in areas hostile to him on some issue, he can usually present another issue to their liking.

Another, and perhaps the key, tactic is the "fly around" to a half dozen sectors of the state, where airport news conferences put him directly on television to promote his program and criticize hostile local legislators. By this device, he skirts sharp questioning by more knowledgeable, tough and critical reporters assigned to the capital, Springfield. His message comes out in broad, strong strokes that may be deceptive in their simplicity. But, as when he announced that his first budget would represent vast savings, the refinements that contradict or modify the news-making assertion appear only in fine print, often twenty-four hours later.

Walker's refusal to be pigeonholed will probably turn out to be his greatest political strength. For instance, the issue that has most bitterly split him from his former liberal backers is public welfare. He began early to decry "welfare cheaters," slashed cost-of-living increases, devised

an inadequate flat-grant system and generally made welfare his whipping boy. Yet those anti-welfare diatribes and the Reagan-inspired program indeed helped him hold the line on the state budget and avoid new taxes—an achievement he continues to hammer home to appreciative audiences. And aside from the fiscal benefit, the cutbacks considerably broadened his support on the Right. That lesson has not been lost on other would-be Populist Governors such as Jerry Brown of California and Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts.

But Walker is also the author of the famed federal report on the 1968 Democratic National Convention that characterized the event as a "police riot." Even before that, he had built up a considerable reputation as a strong liberal on racial matters—perhaps the most vigorous in the Chicago blue-blood business establishment. Although he was a high-priced attorney for and vice president of Marcor (Montgomery Ward), he also headed a moderate-income housing corporation that was attempting to bring open occupancy to lily-white suburbs. Almost two decades ago he was on the losing, liberal side of an open-housing fight in his exurban home of Deerfield.

As Governor, he introduced one of the most extensive and promising affirmative-action employment programs in state government—the first ever in Illinois. Yet as of now, it has failed, according to a local race relations newsletter, the *Chicago Reporter*. Similarly, amid much rhetoric about equal opportunity, he appointed only one black director of a state code department. The preceding GOP administration had two.

Walker can point, however, to some successes in channeling business to minority contractors and supporting local fair-employment and minority-enterprise programs. He signed a bill making Martin Luther King's birthday a state holiday—but on the same day signed an anti-school-bussing bill.

Such contradictions have been endemic throughout the career of the 52-year-old Walker, who pulled off the greatest upset in Illinois political history. Born in Washington, D.C. and raised in San Diego, he graduated from Annapolis in 1945, then moved to Illinois in 1947 where he played various roles in the administration of Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson. It was there that he met Victor de Grazia, the man who is now Deputy Governor and guiding genius of his political organization.

In the following two decades Walker's career reflected the often dramatic duality that has characterized his recent political performance. General counsel of Montgomery Ward, whose consumer and labor policies were periodically under attack, he also involved himself publicly in various liberal political movements, one of them being the Committee on Illinois Government whose leaders have included U.S. Rep. Abner J. Mikva and the recently defeated mayoral candidate, William S. Singer. But while participating in civil rights work, he was also head of the Chicago Crime Commission, which has been criticized by civil libertarians for questionable uses of publicity to label "syndicate" figures and businesses.

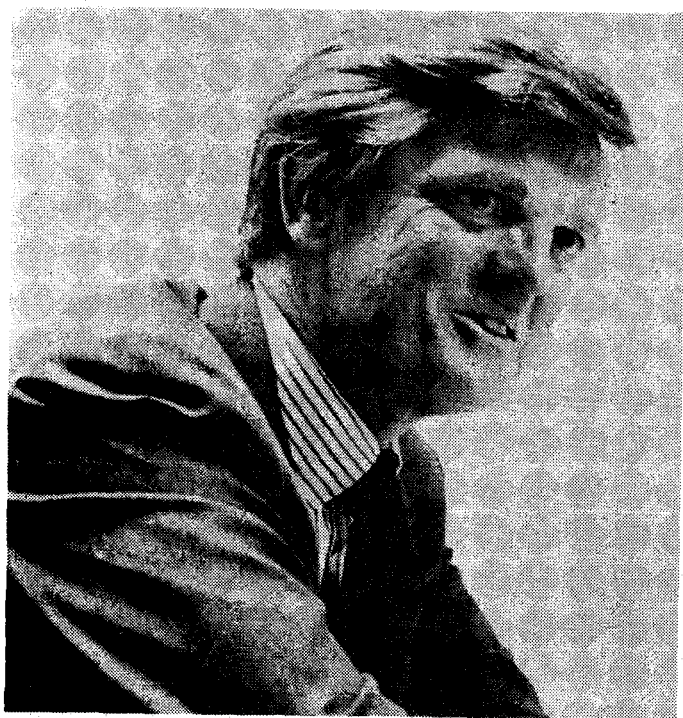
The 1968 Democratic National Convention apparently radicalized him further within the mold of a liberal Democrat. He became an overnight national hero of the Left upon issuing the "Rights in Conflict" report. He was

named to head the U.S. Senate campaign of Adlai E. Stevenson III. With him as chief of staff for the report and top political adviser in the campaign was de Grazia, a remarkably well-rounded personality; musician, horticulturist and gourmet cook with an instinct for the political jugular. He is one of three top Walker aides who rank with the best staff operatives since John F. Kennedy's "Irish Mafia" of the late 1950s.

Walker and de Grazia were permanently separated from the Stevenson campaign when it responded to pressure from the Daley machine by installing as co-chairman Tom Foran, the much-criticized prosecutor of the Chicago Conspiracy 7. The rift has not been closed.

Walker declared for the governorship in an unorthodox manner. He started two years early, walked the state in the manner of Sen. Lawton Chiles of Florida, built a downstate base (unusual for a Democrat), developed his Populist, anti-politician style and capitalized on the tax rebellion.

He slammed Daley, slammed such downstate politicians as legislative leader Clyde Choate and banged away at the theme that "your" tax dollars were paying for "their" scandals. The decisive issue in the general election was Ogilvie's part in bringing Illinois its first income tax. Walker's wide-ranging positions on social issues were used selectively; he made partial peace with Daley and Choate,



Governor Dan Walker

but kept his liberal credentials alive by refusing to support Edward V. Hanrahan for Cook County prosecutor and by opposing Daley's pet public works project, Chicago's Crosstown Expressway. He continues that opposition today.

Until very recent weeks one would have searched long and hard for widespread journalistic praise of a Walker move. But it came, at least from a substantial portion of the press and public, in response to the accelerated build-

ing program he put forward as the state's economic recovery act. Through bond authorizations totaling \$4.1 billion Walker plans extensive housing, highway, transport, school industrial and other public works construction. The projects are not only sound but exquisitely thought out politically, providing jobs and facilities everywhere in the state. His most ardent legislative enemies will find it difficult to oppose the plan, though the GOP Caucus says it will try. Midst widespread applause, only the conservative press condemned the program. The *Chicago Tribune* saw it as fiscally irresponsible, putting the state economy up for grabs if there is not a national economic upswing. The economic odds seem to remain, however, strongly on Walker's side.

In response to the nation's most emotional issue, crime, Walker has skillfully leaked out a controversial but hard-hitting batch of proposals certain to be well received by the public. The heart of his plan is to abolish indeterminate sentencing in favor of flat terms for criminals, and to end the parole system in favor of a clockwork schedule of building up in prison "good time" that cannot be revoked arbitrarily. The idea is to remove all arbitrariness from sentencing as well as from the parole process. It may have a deterrent effect; it certainly will have a salutary effect on the prison population. Walker says it will "reintroduce the concept of punishment for committing a crime rather than rehabilitation." Another proposal would make mandatory criminal trials within sixty days.

Civil libertarians are split on aspects of the program, but the popular appeal is obvious. If liberals do criticize it, Walker can reply by pointing to significant improvements in the state prison system under his chief, Allyn R. Sielaff, who is widely acknowledged to be a humane and effective administrator.

Another accomplishment, one that Walker cannot call his own but for which he clearly shares major credit, is the establishment of a Regional Transit Authority, long overdue for the six Chicago-area counties containing half the state's population. His support for the original legislation and subsequent referendum was a crucial part of the coalition that made the vital transportation package possible.

As he begins to travel the state—and key parts of the nation—in his bid for either re-election or bigger game, Walker will make telling points with his ability to hold the line on taxes and the elimination of 5,000 state jobs—the latter in part offsetting charges of patronage. He will counter the accusations of corruption with displays of his executive orders and legislation—however imperfect—relating to campaign ethics. He established his own internal anti-corruption Office of Special Investigations. He has made a full statement of his income, assets and liabilities. His racing board has taken important steps to clean up corruption in that tainted industry.

Walker established a commission on personal privacy, whose leadership includes top liberals and whose importance may grow politically in light of current Chicago scandals relating to police spying. The scandal-scarred insurance department is also undergoing a cleansing following disclosure of massive cheating on licensing examinations under previous administrations—when two of Daley's sons took the exam. State support for public education has

been increased, and Walker will take credit, though his opponents will point out that the improvement came from legislative and other actions he originally opposed.

The difficulties of his first year, spent combating a Republican legislature and Daley Democrats, may be smoothed now that both houses are solidly controlled by Democrats for the first time in recent history. Here, too, Walker can take legitimate credit for the victories of several House and Senate members whom he and his staff aided in the course of the 1974 Democratic landslide. Some of his strongest enemies were beaten.

Through it all Walker maintains his modest profile driving around the state in an economy car, eschewing the large photos of himself and the self-aggrandizing billboards used by most high officials. The folksiness and conscious myth making probably hit a high point some months ago when a series of fund-raising benefits featured country music and a near-hit record, *A Winner Walkin' Home*.

The obverse of that folksiness is one of the most sophisticated political operations in the nation, led by de Grazia, press secretary Norton Kay and a brilliant poll-reading, issue-deciphering strategist named David Green, a businessman. Careful, professional soundings are taken on issues and elections at all times—leading some to warn that Walker will go wherever the polls go. Another key man in the Walker operation is the nationally known media consultant and packager David Garth, whose victories are legend but who could not sell John Lindsay outside New York or Singer in Chicago.

One can be certain that some form of polling is taking place in key states to assess Walker's national prospects and to spot the issues with which he should become identified in lieu of name recognition. Green and other Walker staffers have been loaned to candidates in other major cities and states, building a loose network that will come in handy if a national drive gets underway.

Most important, Walker continues to reach out to new constituencies, for the most part building quietly, but

sometimes with embarrassing impact, as when he made the now-obligatory pilgrimage to Gov. George Wallace. He gave Alabama businessmen a talk that was viewed as a cleaned-up version of his typical spiel. Walker was roundly condemned for his response to the question of whether he could support Wallace: "I expect to be able to support the nominee of the Democratic convention—whoever he is. . . I reserve the right to hear what the candidates at that time say. The Democratic Party can accommodate different points of view." While there was debate over the precise interpretation of the comment, the bridge-building intent was lost on no one.

Can Walker, then, obtain the backing, or at least avoid the opposition, of Daley? Considering their interdependence in obtaining legislation, it is not out of the question—particularly if Daley's first choice, Senator Kennedy, refuses to reconsider.

If given the alternatives of Wallace, Sen. Henry Jackson and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen on the Right, serious liberal opposition could melt or be neutralized. Similarly, the constituencies of conservative Democrats would be far more comfortable with Walker than with Rep. Morris Udall, former Sen. Fred Harris or even a revived Sen. George McGovern.

Walker fits well into the middle-ground pocket created by the current front runners, along with Sen. Birch Bayh, former Gov. Terry Sanford, Sen. Hubert Humphrey or even his fellow Illinoisan, Stevenson. His rugged good looks, unorthodox style, potential as a media star, and especially his political skills and counselors, make him formidable within that formidable company.

At the very least his Midwest roots, and lack of ideology—even his Catholic wife and seven children—help to poise him as a beautiful regional and political Vice Presidential balance to all major Presidential prospects other than his immediate neighbors. To overlook any of those factors would be to make the same mistake that those Illinois pundits made when they scoffed at his declaration for governor and 1,000-mile trek through the state. □

SNOW FROM THE NETWORKS

Jamming the Fairness Doctrine

WAYNE PHILLIPS

Some years ago a friend, who is now the business editor of the *Denver Post*, was co-author of a novel dedicated to "Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny and Freedom of the Press." It was a juxtaposition that leaps repeatedly to mind these days as the television networks move hand in hand with the newspapers toward abolishing the Fairness Doctrine in the name of freedom of speech.

Unfortunately, a lot of otherwise well-meaning people are being persuaded to join an effort whose bottom line—in the language of business—is not freedom at all but more money in the till. And among those well-meaning people are such stalwarts as Sen. William Proxmire, Rep. Robert Drinan, Ben Bagdikian, Tom Wicker and Fred W.

Friendly. It is enough to make the rest of us doubt our instincts. Or at least take a good hard look at the game that is being played.

First of all, we should get straight just what the Fairness Doctrine is, because it is subject to confusion, often deliberate. It is a requirement by the Federal Communications Commission that a station notify a person against whom it broadcasts a personal attack, and give him an opportunity to reply. It is a requirement, also, that a station make time

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available for conflicting views on controversial issues.

Why is that an abridgment of freedom of speech? Because, say those in the broadcasting business, William Paley foremost among them, it gives the government the right to interfere in their programming. And in the post-Watergate world, "government" has become a dirty word. Lost in the debate is the point that voters—in a democracy at least—are the ultimate power of government. And they decided, long ago, that freedom of speech does not mean freedom for the broadcaster but freedom for the public. That is why the government, however tainted it might have become recently, was given the right to regulate broadcasting.

To understand the hassle one must ask why this has become an issue now. The U.S. Supreme Court held in 1943 that the FCC was responsible for regulating broadcast content, and the FCC tried to define that responsibility in a Fairness Doctrine that has been with us since 1949. But not until March 30, 1975, did it make the cover of *The New York Times Magazine*, and a week later the cover of *TV Guide*.

Any of us who notices the same topic on the cover of two national magazines in two weeks is entitled to ask: Who is trying to sell me what? The *who* is easy. The article in *The New York Times Magazine* was written by Friendly, who used to work for Paley at CBS, and is doing a book for Random House, which is owned by the Radio Corporation of America, which also owns NBC, with which *The New York Times* joined in a court fight last year against the Fairness Doctrine. The article in *TV Guide* is by Senator Proxmire, who has submitted a bill to abolish the Fairness Doctrine on which hearings were to begin April 28, ten days after his article was published. The *Guide* is owned by Walter H. Annenberg, a particularly good friend of the networks.

The *what* is obvious. The Friendly article seeks to discredit the Fairness Doctrine by alleging that the only case regarding it to reach the U.S. Supreme Court was part of a political plot. The Proxmire article doesn't even say what the Fairness Doctrine is, but argues that there would be more discussion of controversial issues without it.

So *why*? To understand that, one has to appreciate that radio and TV networks are by their very conception circumventions of the law. When Congress established the FCC it felt that radio and television should be local media.

The effective range of broadcasting stations was limited to keep them within the communities they were supposed to serve. Networks grew up as devices to circumvent that decision—to create programs that local stations could not afford, sell them to national advertisers and channel a share of the revenues to local broadcasters who could put them on the air. The networks' use of telephone lines, microwave relays and now satellites avoids the very regulations they so vociferously protest on behalf of the broadcasters. And they have created national media where none was ever intended by Congress.

In 1967 the FCC cut into the heart of this system by ruling that the Fairness Doctrine applied to commercials—specifically cigarette commercials, nearly all of which originated as national advertising distributed by the networks. Local stations were required to provide free time to rebut the cigarette commercials. And as a result networks

were forced to distribute "counter-commercials" without charge—or revenue—to their affiliates. This was a decision the networks could not accept with equanimity.

At the time a case was on its way to the Supreme Court challenging the Fairness Doctrine—a case originated by a radio station in Red Lion, Pa., that did not want to give time to Fred J. Cook to respond to a personal attack. Cook had written an article for *The Nation* on May 25, 1964, about "Radio Right—Hate Clubs of the Air."

The Radio-Television News Directors Association joined in the Red Lion challenge—at whose promptings and with what resources it would be interesting to know. But in June of 1969 the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the Fairness Doctrine. Within *days* the tobacco companies, and then the broadcasters, told Congress they would rather have no cigarette advertising at all on the air. And the following spring Congress enacted a law to that effect. The defeat cost the broadcasters advertising that in its final year had amounted to \$217 million.

The bitterness of the defeat was compounded in subsequent years, however, when the sales of cigarettes increased without benefit of broadcast advertising. It began to seem alarmingly probable to the broadcasters that others might examine the sales effect of switching their advertising to other media.

The industry took four lines of attack:

(1) *Through the FCC.* Dean Burch, Nixon's FCC chairman and former chairman of the Republican National Committee, initiated a study of the Fairness Doctrine rules from which the broadcasters' difficulties had arisen. Last July his successor, Richard Wiley, announced that the commission felt the Fairness Doctrine no longer should apply to product commercials.

This meant that automobile advertising—then threatened by anti-pollution advocates who wanted to use the Fairness Doctrine—was safe. So, too, would be cigarette advertising if Congress should ever change its mind. (A bill proposing just that was submitted in this session by Sen. Roman Hruska.)

But it still left open the question of *issue* advertising. And it did so just when the oil companies were clamoring for time to tell their side of the energy debate and Congress was creating a bonanza for political advertising. Those who disagreed with the oil companies—which bought \$73 million worth of advertising in 1973—asked for time to reply under the Fairness Doctrine. The broadcasters, unwilling to get caught in the bind that had cost them cigarette advertising, refused time to both sides. Once again, the money they could have had went to print media.

Political advertising on radio and television is the principal reason for skyrocketing campaign costs—and the corruption which has come along with it. The political check-off system, however, will now make about \$60 million available from the U.S. Treasury for the next Presidential campaign—and about \$9 million was spent on radio and television advertising the last time around. One must assume it will be even more the next time.

(2) *Through the courts.* In 1972 NBC had aired a television documentary, *Pensions: The Broken Promise*, inspired, in part, by another article by Fred J. Cook. A right-wing group, Accuracy in Media, Inc., complained to the FCC that NBC had refused to make time available to

present the other side of the issue. The FCC held that the Fairness Doctrine had been violated, and ordered NBC to broadcast balancing material. Instead, NBC went to court.

Tom Wicker wrote a column for *The New York Times* describing the issue in the case as freedom of speech and praising NBC for defending the integrity of broadcast journalism. Ben Bagdikian wrote an article for the *Columbia Journalism Review* saying pretty much the same thing. By comparison, the protests from those who regarded the Fairness Doctrine as a principal defense of the public's freedom—among them Rev. Everett Parker of the United Church of Christ—could barely be heard.

The New York Times promptly joined NBC as a friend of the court, on the ground that the Fairness Doctrine was an instrument of government censorship. And it devoted a number of news stories to Accuracy in Media and its supporters, leaving the clear impression that they were up to no good. Whatever the facts of *that* might be, the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia ruled that the Fairness Doctrine had not been violated and the FCC had no cause to order redress. The decision was written, incidentally, by Judge Harold Leventhal who was counsel for the Democratic National Committee when it was challenging stations under the Fairness Doctrine on issues raised in the 1964 Presidential campaign. The victory really wasn't much of a victory for the broadcasters, however, since it left the Fairness Doctrine unchallenged. It merely defined the grounds for those who might undertake to use it in the future.

(3) *Through the capabilities of cable television.* Cable, we are often told, makes possible the vast multiplication of the number of channels which can be received by the home television set. This means that broadcasters can open up channels for many new purposes—including the airing of every conceivable point of view about every topic and direct response to viewers' inquiries.

Although this proliferation of channels is as yet very far in the future, broadcasters have been quick to say that the capability makes the Fairness Doctrine outmoded. President Nixon named a Cabinet Committee on Cable Television to make recommendations for the development of this looming new industry. When it reported to President Ford last fall, *mirabile dictu*, it recommended that the Fairness Doctrine be dropped for cable television!

Considering that in the not unforeseeable future nearly all television in areas of significant population concentration will reach the viewer over cables, the commission recommendation leaves a serious question as to whether there will remain any effective Fairness Doctrine. Certainly, if it were adopted the cable operator would be free to discard any Fairness Doctrine material a network might provide. And those like Time, Inc., seeking to emulate the networks by distributing program material to cable companies, would never be bothered by it. The desired conclusion was drawn on April 2, when the Committee for Economic Development, an organization of business executives, made public a study of "Broadcasting and Cable Television: Policies for Diversity and Change." Among its recommendations: When the diversity of cable television is achieved the FCC could drop its Fairness Doctrine.

(4) *Through Congress.* For lobbyists as skilled as those who work for ABC, CBS and NBC (particularly after the

cigarette advertising battle) this is not so complex as it might seem to the rest of us. The FCC, after all, is the creation of Congress and can do only what Congress gives it the authority to do. If Congress wipes out the authority on which the Fairness Doctrine is based, that is the end of it.

The trick is to get the public behind the idea, because that is the key to Congress. And the newspapers are the key to the public. And freedom of the press is the key to the newspapers. The line of attack was clearly forecast by the rhetoric in the NBC case—freedom of speech, government interference with broadcast journalism, freedom of the press. And the statement that wrapped it all up was made by Paley last May 31, in a speech dedicating a building devoted to broadcast journalism at Syracuse University.

A few days later *The New York Times* carried an adaptation of his speech in an article on its Op-Ed page: "To strengthen broadcast journalism's freedom it is time to repudiate the Fairness Doctrine, specifically immunizing news and public affairs broadcasting from any form of government supervision." It was an artful statement designed to appeal to a carefully pre-defined audience—and it did.

But to appreciate how highly Paley ranks profits above his responsibilities to news, one must read Friendly's book *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control*. Because it was exactly on that issue that Friendly resigned as president of CBS News. In any event, Friendly last fall was researching a book about the Fairness Doctrine for Random House, when he came across the story—well covered in news releases at the time—of how it had been used by the Democratic National Committee to get broadcasters to air its side of controversial public issues during the 1964 Presidential campaign.

Then the new Congress convened. On January 15 Senator Proxmire introduced a bill to abolish the Fairness Doctrine—not just in regard to news or public affairs, as Paley had urged, but in its entirety. On January 28 Representative Drinan introduced an almost identical bill in the House. On March 30 Fred Friendly appeared in print with his article. On April 12 Senator Proxmire's article was on the cover of *TV Guide*. And on April 28 his bill was scheduled for hearings. Such a curious coincidence of events, involving such a significant expenditure of energy and resources, is certainly enough to make a skeptic conclude that Friendly's article was related to the legislative objective. But perhaps not. Perhaps he was just an innocent bystander.

In any event, the bottom line for broadcasters should the Fairness Doctrine be abolished is very clear to me: Issue advertising would no longer be threatened; cigarette advertising might be regained; no affiliate would ever again be asked to carry a "counter-commercial" or redress a network documentary; no station would ever have to notify those it had attacked; no station would have to provide time for those it had attacked to reply; no station would have to carry views on a controversial public issue which conflicted with its own.

For the broadcaster it would certainly be, in my friend's words, Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny and Freedom of the Press—all wrapped into one. □

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Spain Before the Falange

THE FORGING OF A REBEL. By Arturo Barea. Translated by Ilsa Barea. A Richard Seaver Book. The Viking Press. 751 pp. \$15.

HUGH THOMAS

Arturo Barea was a Spaniard from a fairly humble Madrid family who, through intelligence and drive, fought his way up in the 1920s and 1930s to become a successful businessman. But he became a Socialist too and, after taking part in some of the most dramatic times of the Civil War, fought his way up again—even further up, I would add—to become a successful writer in England. He died in 1957 at Faringdon in Berkshire, aged 60. It was a remarkable and astonishingly varied life. His most famous book, or books, is the trilogy respectively entitled *The Forge*, *The Track* and *The Clash*, brought together many years ago as *The Forging of a Rebel*. Long out of print, this admirable volume has now been republished by Viking, to whom all friends of modern Spain will be grateful. The only pity is that they did not ask Helen Grant, the Cambridge don who contributes a helpful introduction, to make a full scholarly edition of it, for there are a great many people and things who might very well have been identified by a tactfully self-effacing editor. The publishers, on the other hand, are wise to retain the excellent translation made by Barea's multilingual Austrian wife Ilsa, who may have had more to do with all of Barea's books than she ever allowed to be known.

The three books are separate studies linked by two things: the developing personality of the author and the city of Madrid, as it used to be before it was ruined by the war. *The Forge* describes Barea's childhood in that city before 1914. *The Track* is chiefly an interpretation of the author's experiences in the Army during the Moroccan wars against Abd-el Krim in the Rif. *The Clash* is a more diffuse work and takes Barea into the Socialist Party at a time of rapidly increasing politicization. He follows this with a reconstruction of his time as a censor in the Foreign Office during the Civil War itself and ends

Hugh Thomas is the author of The Spanish Civil War (Harper & Row), and numerous other historical studies.

with his exile in 1938 at a time when the *mystique* with which the Republicans began the Civil War was giving way to *politique*, in no uncertain way. Concurrently, Barea was himself abandoning his first wife and his established mistress for Ilsa, whom he had met in the famous telephone building from which all the well-known war correspondents were sending their dispatches. He was also, under Ilsa's influence, beginning to realize himself as a writer.

Of the three sections of the book, the last is probably the best known because of the Civil War which dominates it. That is understandable, for there are in this some very vivid passages which are a pleasure to reread. There is a good picture of the Foreign Ministry in the emptying capital before the battle. There is a vivid exchange between the author and a man who is brought to confess that the reason he is so busy killing alleged Fascists is that he himself had been friendly with the by-then dissolved right-wing Christian Democratic Party, the CEDA. An election meeting just before the Civil War is brilliantly described. There is too in this section of the book an unforgettable picture of the city of Madrid improvising its defense in the face of innumerable difficulties, not least the suspicion that certain prominent people were traitors.

Nevertheless I have recently found *The Clash*, as it happens, the least satisfactory of the three sections. First, this is because it is less well organized than the other two. It sprawls from 1935 to 1938, from the world of micro-politics to that of international military missions and thoughts on world wars. The international figures whom Barea introduces briefly—General Goriev, Sefton Delmer, Gustav Regler, Herbert Matthews—are one-dimensional figures in comparison with the aunts and uncles who make such a vivid impression in the first part of the book.

The last part of this book is also rather unsatisfactory. It is far from clear exactly why Barea left Spain, and anyone who knows anything of the Spanish Civil War cannot help thinking that there may be more to the story here than Barea allows. For example, he tells us that Leopold Kocsar, his wife Ilsa's Austrian first husband, was working for the SIM, the military intelligence service

which persecuted the POUM and the anarchists so relentlessly. But we are made to feel a little sorry for "Poldi," who "looked very ill and was suffering pain; he confessed to a serious stomach complaint rendered worse by his way of living, the late nights, the irregular food, the black coffee. . . ." But these late nights were caused by his endless interrogations and even tortures of alleged Trotskyists. "My historic mission," "Poldi" said to Katia Landau, "is to find the proofs that, among twenty Trotskyists, eighteen are the agents of Hitler and Franco."

The Forge and *The Track* are free from the problems that these recollections arouse, and I think that the writing is better as well. In the first, there are brilliant, self-confident pictures of Barea's family, all, as it were, peering over the edge of the giant cauldron of Spanish working-class feelings to see what sort of mixture will result. Don Luis, the blacksmith of Brunete, with his breakfasts of rabbit and brandy, is a particularly compelling figure. These 200 or so pages seem to me to be among the two or three best pieces of writing ever done which are inspired by working-class life. Or can one call that world of craftsmen about to sink, or about to rise, as fate determines, really "working class"? I think not: indeed, the whole sweep of this section of Barea's work reminds one of the diversity of the class whom some would quite neglect in their efforts to reach a simple and stark interpretation of politics. Priests and engine drivers, lion tamers and cashiers, matadors and beggars—all live forever caught by one short sentence or anecdote, thanks to Barea's acute and selective memory. A particularly important function of these pages is that they show, through the analysis of relations between men and women, just how authoritarian modern Spain was—perhaps still is.

The war in Morocco is especially well illustrated. It reminds the reader just how important that war was in modern Spanish history. For it was there that the generals of the Civil War generation were in effect brutalized by an atrocious colonial war carried out to "write a brilliant page in history" by entering sacred Xauen. The pen picture of General Millán Astray is extremely vivid, though

perhaps a little contrived. Then the scene in the brothel in Tetuán in which the author sleeps with the General's girl is also very good. So too is Barea's accidental meeting with the dictator Primo de Rivera in the Villa Rosa night club. But no doubt the passages here which will leave a more profound impression are those which show how Barea, from observation of the disease, corruption, dirt and incompetence of the Spanish Army at war, gradually became a Socialist and subsequently a writer. The events outside Melilla in 1921 must have been compelling so far as Barea's later political views were concerned: "I cannot tell the story of Melilla. . . . I was there, but I do not know where: somewhere in the midst of shots, shells, and machine-gun rattle, sweating, shouting, running, sleeping on stone and on sand, but above all ceaselessly vomiting, smelling of corpses, finding at every step another dead body, more horrible than any I had known at any moment before. . . ."

This scene was to be repeated often in Barea's experience and the outrage which he never ceased to feel is very well conveyed. But though Barea is particularly good, and honest, about scenes of violence, he can also conjure up "salt plains by the shimmering Mediterranean; the palm trees of Elche in the noon haze; eyeless, blindingly white Moorish houses on the slope of bare yellow dunes, petrified in the shape of waves; gnarled oak and pines on rocky ridges unbearably lonely under the infinite dome of the sky. . . ." And then there was Father Vesga, the priest whom the children tried to avoid going to for confession, since he frightened them so much with his tales of sin: "Woman is sin. For the sake of woman the human race fell from grace, and all the saints suffered the temptation of evil. They had apparitions of naked women with bare breasts and lewd movements. And nowadays Satan does not even spare the children. He comes to drive away their sleep and to show them naked women to sully the purity of their minds. And so on and on for half an hour. He spoke to me of flowing hair, quivering bosoms, lascivious hips, of King Solomon, of obscene dances of women at street corners, in a torrent of angry words which all went to say that Woman was a sack of uncleanness and evil and that men slept with women and therefore went to Hell." As a footnote—one of those that I am sorry that Viking did not think of adding—I find that a certain Father Angel Vesga was in fact killed in the Civil War at Valencia on November 1, 1936. Can one really say "Rest in Peace"?

Barea's book gives a fine picture of

an old society in decay. It is no less compelling because, from the standpoint of the much more conventional, clean, characterless Madrid of today, one cannot help a certain nostalgia for the fascinating slum life of Barea's childhood: poor, often wretched, but what vigor, what eccentricity! It seems, nevertheless,

and taking everything into account, that some sort of authoritarian structure was inevitable. What of the future? The marked change in the position of both the Church and of women (matters to which Barea devoted a tremendous amount of attention) suggests that optimism is possible. □

To Have a Place, To Be of Use

THE DEVIL'S HAND. By Edith Summers Kelley. *Lost American Fiction Series.* Southern Illinois University Press. 301 pp. \$8.95.

ALAN CHEUSE

. . . a long valley, flat as a table, hemmed in on every side by barren mountains, crossed and recrossed by ditches big and little through which flowed tawny water. Trees too along the ditches; tall, mournful eucalyptus and white-skinned cotton-woods and the trailing abundant lace of pepper trees. Everywhere long rectangular fields of deep green alfalfa, of lettuce just planted for the winter crop, of cotton shriveled and dead . . . of abandoned land that was once more sprouting gray-green desert weeds, rising into hillocks, going back to the desert from which it had come. . . .

The first full view of California's Imperial Valley caught by Rhoda Malone, the protagonist of *The Devil's Hand*, will probably stand for most readers as their first glimpse of the descriptive powers of Edith Summers Kelley. Kelley's second (and previously unpublished) novel, written originally in 1925, comes to us as part of Southern Illinois' admirable "Lost American Fiction" series which last year brought out the late author's first novel, *Weeds*, with great success. Kelley, a Canadian by birth, an American in sensibility and a Socialist by persuasion, is a naturalist of the first order with a particular feminist perspective which should win her an audience long overdue.

Striking out from Philadelphia along with her friend Kate Baxter just at the end of World War I, Kelley's protagonist Rhoda travels to California to buy a farm and build her future from the soil up. Both women, ex-office workers and unmarried, take a stance familiar to us but in Kelley's time still quite daring: "Don't think you have to discriminate in our favor just because we're women. . . ." Kate tells the staid young Mr. McCumber, the real estate man who after their

Alan Cheuse teaches English at Bennington College.

long train trip overland conducts them on their initial tour of the Valley. They buy a farm, one of McCumber's "choice" properties, and the rest of the narrative centers on their struggle to make their purchase a profitable venture.

The most immediate obstacles the doughty Rhoda and flinty Kate encounter are natural. The rich but unruly Valley, which hugs the Mexican border where the Colorado River flows into California, abounds with dust storms; its soil sometimes reeks of alkali, and water is always in short supply. Human obstacles appear as well, in the form of bitter racial biases held by the Valley's Caucasians toward the Orientals, East Indians and Mexicans who farm or who pick the seasonal crops; in the class barriers which separate poor whites from the middle-class townspeople and big owners; and in the fluctuating markets for cotton and alfalfa which make or break all but a few of the region's inhabitants from year to year.

Rhoda has a keen eye for the reality of her raw Western environment (which, as the passage devoted to her first look at the Valley seems to suggest, she translates into images of a comforting, if not comfortable, domestic sort, as in the valley "flat as a table, hemmed in on every side. . . ." and the "abundant lace" of the pepper trees). However, her insight leads her to join, rather than remain aloof from, the daily struggle against the forces which touch nearly every inhabitant of the area. Daring herself to make a new life based on her growing awareness of her foreign surroundings, she succumbs at first to a deep, sensuous and sometimes overpowering need for a sense of place and a desire to feel necessary in the world. Those Valley people and family groups who do not seem to have achieved this offend her. But working people and those without affiliation, whether they be handsome drifters or pathetically poor Mexican families, call out to her feelings of pity and social responsibility. Soaking up experience after experience the way the parched Valley soil soaks up the fresh Colorado water, Rhoda spends a tedious year planting, hoeing, weeding, picking,

watering, and learning how to end her estrangement from a familiar, everyday world.

During that time, she and Kate discover the necessity of surviving with each other from day to day. More dramatically, Rhoda's flirtation with a drifter named Andy Blake and her love affair with a Hindu neighbor lead her to painful though rewarding insights. By the end of the first year, Rhoda seems to have acquired a sense of belonging to her new home which serves as the occasion for some lovely lyrical prose:

Out of the all-enfolding grayness, the subdued earth tones, the pensive autumnal silence broken only by faint pipings and the restless whirr of wings, there slid into her soul a gentle melancholy, a diffused sadness. She felt herself merge into the landscape and become one with it, earthy-toned, subdued, and silent.

Unlike the appealing but ultimately limited romanticism of the work of Kelley's contemporary Willa Cather, *The Devil's Hand* starkly juxtaposes such lyrical moments of atonement with the land and the pressing demands of ordinary life. In other words, for Kelley (if not for other naturalists), lyricism is not an answer but a question. And love, as she clearly dramatizes in the two brief affairs which Rhoda lives through (the second one but barely), does not save its participants from the world. Rather, it forces to their attention the harsh realization that society often impinges on its members at precisely those moments when they feel most deeply lost in private emotions.

The news comes to Rhoda as a shock. After the bottom falls out of the cotton market, her Hindu lover informs her that he is abandoning his ruined farm and heading off to new pastures in Latin America. Kate's triumph over her own ferocious sense of solitude (not to mention the local racial biases) turns, at the twitch of a market figure, into a hollow victory.

This development forces upon Rhoda an awareness of her own helplessness no matter where she lives and works. "See," says the Hindu, at their parting,

... and following the line of his long pointing forefinger she saw two eucalyptus leaves, little dun-colored daggers, floating down the sluggish water of the ditch. They drifted together, touched, then swam apart. One was caught in a little eddy which carried it toward the bank where it was stopped by a tangle of Bermuda grass. The other sailed on down the ditch.

"They are like you and me," he said, with a slight sad gesture of indifference.

Rhoda refuses at first to accept com-

POETRY READING

The winners of DISCOVERY-THE NATION, '75 will read their poems in an event sponsored by The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA. The competition, a fusion of The Poetry Center's "Discovery" and *The Nation's* poetry contest, was open to poets who have not been published in book form.

The reading will be held at 8 P.M. on Monday, May 12, in The Poetry Center's temporary auditorium, The Dalton School, 109 East 89th Street, New York City.

pletely the truth of such fatalism, which makes her all the more credible as a living, breathing woman. She goes on to become involved in the lives of several Valley farm families, most of them down and out. When she and Kate find their own finances faltering, she learns how to perform the same chores by which the drifting masses of the hot dusty Valley make ends meet. That leads her to see the world from a still more refined version of her initial perspective.

Through the cool of the darkly luminous twilight the streams of milk sang steady, purring songs. Everybody was milking, milking, milking; but with the milking everybody was doing also the thing that his spirit prompted. It came over her that it is only the poor and unpretentious like these who are free to do the things their spirit prompts. . . . Here under the stars she belonged to her surroundings. . . .

Work and a sense of community burgeon in her soul. But this feeling seems to be merely another, more pleasing but no less debilitating, strain of the same romanticism which thrives upon a sense of oneness with the soil. Eventually, though, living with the dirt-poor milkers the Dobles, their son Thatch's growing attachment to her, her reacquaintance with Andy Blake, and the activities of the I.W.W. organizer Dan Stoner, teach her more about life than she would truly care to know. By the second Christmas of her stay (at which time she wanders through a department store in a Valley town—a brilliant set piece midway through the book), her new-found sense of belonging cannot stifle her growing displeasure with the social system which places Mexicans on the bottom, poor whites in the middle and dapper bourgeois such as the real estate salesman McCumber in the upper levels of the Valley's social order.

New miseries damage her fragile sense of well-being: the Doble boy, Thatch, unthinkingly commits himself to a lifetime of marital misery; the courting Mr.

McCumber begins to breathe hotly down her neck; and her peripatetic second lover, the drifter Andy Blake, decides to quit the Valley after the arrest and imprisonment of Dan Stoner. Rhoda sinks into a nihilistic funk from which she nearly does not recover. Life, she concludes, is nothing more than a series of mechanical, instinctual actions in which, in much the same way as the rooster crowing in the chinaberry tree outside her window sets off a chorus that rings throughout the Valley's length and breadth, one person sets off the actions of another and another until all writhe helplessly in "a hopelessly tangled mesh" of pathetic behavior. Where once the Valley, according to an indigenous Indian myth, lay in the palm of a benevolent God, it has become, she decides, a plaything in "the Devil's Hand," a hellish region whose inhabitants plod along, like a farmer she saw trudging across the Kansas landscape on her trip westward,

... until they came to the place where for them the world ended. Then they would fall off into that immensity of gray, vast and terrible, and that would be the end of them forever.

But if lyricism is not the answer neither is nihilism. And just as Rhoda fell back into the world from the heights of her exhilarating sense of belonging, by the end of the novel she crawls out of the pit of despair to encounter once again the necessary things of this world. Even after the gore and flying feathers of the marvelous penultimate scene in which she slaughters the farm's entire flock of chickens in order to sell them in town, the conclusion comes as a jarring but fitting resolution of Rhoda's dilemma.

By this point, it should be clear that reading Edith Summers Kelley is a great pleasure. But it is painful at times and in some of the worst ways. Her theoretical paragraphs (such as the easy analogy between the roosters' crowing and human actions) remind us that while we cannot dismiss naturalism as a valuable way of examining human behavior, we can dismiss large portions of naturalistic prose; and her undeveloped characters (like Blake and Stoner, as Matthew Bruccoli, the series' editor, points out in his useful afterword to the novel) and her underdeveloped scenes (the cattle auction, the picnic on Mt. Signal) bring to the fore the controversy as to whether or not this text is the original 1925 version of the novel or the revision which Sinclair Lewis, her ex-fiancé, urged her to complete. But finally her subtle skill for dramatizing the problems of social unrest, for depicting how people earn their daily bread (and how others, sadly,

do not) and her convincing manner of joining the life of the feelings and the sense of social existence, force upon us the unhappy realization that many of our most admired contemporary writers have drifted quite far from such pressing mat-

ters. Such is the impact of an initial reading of Edith Summers Kelley. Like Kate Chopin and Tess Slesinger, she is one of those lost women of American fiction whose work may yet revivify American fiction. □

What Was Father up to Then?

TO THE UNKNOWN HERO. By Hans Erich Nossack. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 154 pp. \$6.95.

SHELDON FRANK

Think of contemporary German literature and names like Günter Grass, Heinrich Böll, or Uwe Johnson come to mind—but rarely the name of Hans Erich Nossack. In 1948 Jean-Paul Sartre called him “the most interesting contemporary German writer,” yet *To the Unknown Hero* is only his third novel to appear in English translation. Why this neglect of a writer with such a distinguished European reputation? Well, I’m not sure, but I suspect we had an overdose of Camus. Nossack is very much an “existential” novelist, mining a by-now familiar vein of metaphysical bewilderment in a world without sense. And perhaps this attitude seems outmoded, just another dated product of postwar Europe. Whatever the reason, this neglect of Nossack is regrettable, for he is an artist of disconcerting power, offering us a series of unsettling reports from the abyss.

Twentieth-century Germany has accounted for more than its share of martyrs, but Nossack suffered an unusual kind of personal purgatory. The Nazis banned the publication of his first novel in 1933, and for the next ten years he was able to print only a few things clandestinely. Then in 1943 an air raid on Hamburg destroyed all his manuscripts. So, in his mid-40s, like his bombed-out and burnt-over country, Nossack had to start again from scratch.

Germany tried to forget its past in the intoxication of its postwar economic miracle, but Nossack forgot nothing; his purgatorial nonexistence under the Nazis became a central metaphor in his postwar fiction. Many of his novels are written as quasi-documentary reports, usually with a first-person narrator. In those communiqués from no man’s land the narrator is attempting to understand a past event, to determine precisely what happened and why it happened. But the

answer is beyond discovery. The reports resemble metaphysical detective stories; more and more evidence is adduced, the narrator sifts and winnows, but at the heart of the mystery is a gap, a place where logical rules don’t apply.

It is difficult to pinpoint precisely this Nossackian gap, this area of human action that defies analysis. It is a metaphor like Gide’s “gratuitous act,” referring to undetermined behavior that we can neither predict nor explain. In Nossack the gap often occurs in periods of social turmoil, when the rules and regulations of bourgeois society are null and void.

To the Unknown Hero concerns one man’s behavior in a particular historical gap—ten days in 1919 when a German revolutionary army won a series of surprising victories in a nation still numbed by World War I. The narrator is a pedantic history professor nicknamed “Professor Precise” by his students. Sitting in a restaurant with a friend, he talks about an event that occurred in his life eighteen years before, but that has only recently begun to make sense to him. As a young academic he had published his doctoral dissertation on those ten days of revolution. Called *To the Unknown Hero*, his book tried to solve the mystery of “Comrade Hein,” the unidentified revolutionary leader who disappeared after having planned the final, decisive victory. The narrator, newly betrothed, at his engagement party presented a copy of his book to his father, an uneducated, small-town grocer. His father was unimpressed with the book, seemed to know a lot about those famous ten days, and teased his son about being such a know-it-all at such a tender age. But his father had always enjoyed teasing him, and the self-satisfied professor ignored his apparently playful criticisms.

Eighteen years pass, the father dies a seemingly ordinary death, and in going through his effects, his son finds a strange suit among his father’s possessions. It’s much too large, of a different style than his father’s customary clothing, and the label offers puzzling clues. Obsessed by the suit and what it suggests, the narrator turns over in his mind all the things his father had said on the night they dis-

TOURIST

*A Tintoretto angel
disguises itself in the curls
of my eldest child,
long grown to manhood.
A kneeling woman
is dressed in black;
her darkness reaches
all the way west,
back to the place I come from.
The few stars
are like loose change
in a strange currency.
Even as I write
these words
on a scrap of hotel paper
they look to my own eyes
as if I have translated them
from another
language.*

Linda Pastan

cussed his book. How did his father know so much about those events? Where was he when the battles were raging? In that gap of time when all the trains had stopped and all businesses had closed, in those ten days when the world was upside down and the mysterious Comrade Hein appeared from nowhere and then left for nowhere, what was his father doing? Was he, in fact, the unidentified Comrade Hein?

This novel is another of Nossack’s epistemological detective stories, one that explicitly questions how history is written and understood. The pedant, skilled in deciphering old messages and reports, had tried to re-imagine why a certain man had behaved as he did during a particular event many years ago. His father had attempted to show him he understood far less than he thought, but what could an ignorant grocer tell him about history? Now he is haunted by his intellectual blindness:

... In all the eighteen years since that engagement party did I never wonder how it had been possible for my father to relate those events in such minute detail? There you’ve got me by the short hair, as my father would say. No, not once. I slept the sleep of my academic superiority. It took that damned suit to wake me up. I’d rather not think about those eighteen years.

Hans Erich Nossack may appear to represent a kind of atavism, as a postwar existentialist still running changes on familiar themes of despair and ambiguity. But his novels aren’t simply fictionalized essays on the human predicament. *To the Unknown Hero* is a parable about the limitations of historical understanding,

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but it is also a very clever, often very funny story of adventure and detection. Professor Precise is a wonderfully realized pedant, a perfect mixture of insight and obtuseness. His father is the wise hick, offering his wisdom in a jumble of Hamburg dialect and ungrammatical standard German, which Ralph Manheim renders very well in colloquial English. Nossack's vision of a gap in the center of things is no mere literary conceit; it's a truth he's lived to learn. Like his other unnerving novels, *To the Unknown Hero* will never be old-fashioned. □

Copasetic Jimmy

DAVID EVANIER

I

As a novelist, I find that I spend many of my waking hours living with characters out of a past that stretches back fifteen or twenty years. What, then, of the characters a writer meets every day, memorable people who do not fit into the scheme of a novel already in progress? Usually there is nothing I can do but take notes, jam them into my pockets, and hope that I will remember them in the years to come, and some day write about those people with the objectivity that time, experience and understanding bring.

But there are characters of such dimension and interest that I feel a need as a writer somehow to deal with them sooner. The reason is in that famous but widely criticized phrase of Arthur Miller's: "Attention must be paid." That phrase has been criticized by the literal-minded for its ambiguity—who or what must we pay attention to?—but I think we all know what it means.

Every night, whether at ten, midnight or later, my evening of writing at my studio is ended with a beginning: I meet Jimmy, the black night watchman of the building, at the door. Jimmy is in his late 50s, with a wide stomach and sad, lonely, wide eyes. He likes to talk to people. "If I don't see anyone for hours," he told me, "I just get to triffin'. Even a few words, you know." I come to the studio after a day's work at the office, and he sees me straggling, often in a mood of frustration at the difficulty of what I am trying to do. One night he

David Evanier's work has been published in Paris Review, Transatlantic Review and other magazines. He is included in the new anthology, On Being Jewish (Fawcett). His first novel, The Swinging Headhunter, was published in Canada; at present, he is working on his second.

said, "Don't give up, Davey; give out, give in, but don't give up."

One of the first things he ever told me was that his son had been shot in the head and found dead on the East River Drive on the morning of the first day of his job. Probably shot "by some cracker," Jimmy said. And before "he even had a chance to scuffle up the ladder."

When the police came to the door to tell him, they told him he had better sit down. He said no, he was a man. When they told him, his head hit the floor first. He does not remember falling, only being lifted up.

Another night he told me about visiting his mother in the South, in a town where no doors were locked and food was shared with the hungry. She said to him, "Go visit with your friends," and he sat down beside her and said, "No, I'm not going nowhere; I'm just going to sit here beside you all day—that's all I want to do." Another evening he talked of saving things so that he could give them to people who might need them, even a shoelace: "There's a time someone might need one—*bad*."

Jimmy has talked to me about the way he has of getting his wife to go to a movie or a show. If he suggests it outright, she'll turn him down, because of the expense or the time. So he'll say to her, "Hey, let's just take a little walk." Then he'll pass by a theatre with her, look up at the marquee and observe casually, "Say, what's that playin' over there? Maybe we ought to have a closer look at that? What do you say?" He pauses between each sentence, and he shows me the facial expression he uses on his wife: wide eyes of innocence, surprise at the theatre in front of him, a look of discovery. "Maybe we should take a look inside."

II

Each time I talk to Jimmy, I go out into the night and think that some day I'll write about him, but first, the novel at hand. But the other evening when I was leaving the studio, I asked Jimmy how he was, and he said, "Everything is copasetic." I asked him to repeat what he had said, and he did. I had only heard the word from one other person, a colleague at the office. It means, as it sounds, O.K., cool, not bad a-tall.

I asked Jimmy if it was an actual word, and he said it was popular about twenty years ago. He said he used it rarely, "just with a good friend."

I thanked him, and went on to tell him about the last four weeks. My father had had an automobile accident New Year's Eve, and I had been visiting him daily in the hospital. We talked about my

father, and then about his roommate in the hospital, a fellow in his 30s, with a tall, heavy frame and a mop of blond hair. I told Jimmy about him: that he had been placed in an orphanage when he was a year old, and remained there until he was 10, when he went out to work. This fellow is very successful now and owns a chain of stores, and does not charge those customers who are "in need." He spends much of his time tutoring, at no cost, young people who need help, and giving them counsel. He also takes care of the mother who deserted him as a child. ("Maybe I was an ugly baby," he said.) When he left the hospital before my father did, he visited him twice, and called my father every day.

I began to try to convince Jimmy of the authenticity of all this, but there was no need. "Of course," he said, "this fellow—it began with what he experienced. He has the two most important things in this world: experience and understanding."

I said to Jimmy, "And I never heard one word of malice from him."

Jimmy replied, "No—he knows the rich and the poor."

Jimmy went on to repeat "experience and understanding," and that almost everyone has the first without the second.

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I rushed off from the building, after shaking hands as we do every night, and I pondered his words for a long time, as I also do every night, once I was seated in the subway.

III

The next night I asked Jimmy if he was sleeping well. "Oh, sure," he said. "This morning I woke up but went back to sleep. Bernard was watching TV with his grandmother in the next room, but he didn't wake me up—"

"Who's Bernard?"

"Bernard Pifen, Jr., my 5½-year-old grandson. My daughter works during the day, so he stays with us during the week, Monday to Friday. He almost died—he had three operations. He couldn't breathe. They took him to the hospital. They put this . . . thong . . . this stem in his throat . . . so he wasn't supposed to be able to talk. But the next day he started talkin'. The nurse—" Jimmy looked up and around, as the nurse had done, in wonderment—"said: 'What's this? Bernard's talking!' and she couldn't believe it. She just wrapped him up in her arms and took him to the phone

and called all over the hospital to the doctors that Bernard was talking, and she had Bernard talk over the phone. The doctors couldn't believe it. They carried him around with them all over the hospital—"

"He was a hit," I said.

"He was a *celebrity*. Then when they took the thong out, and told him now he could really talk, well he was skeptical . . . at first . . . he was skeptical for a day or two.

"The doctors said to him when he left, 'We didn't let you down. Now don't you let us down. And you come and see us too.'"

Jimmy paused for a moment. "An old lady. An *old* lady—she saw them in a corner—my daughter crying you know—and she said 'Don't fret. Don't fret. He'll be all right. I know.' And the next day he started surviving."

Jimmy said after another moment, "I hope he'll be a doctor."

IV

That evening I decided that fifteen years of perspective and distance were not necessary to write about Jimmy. □

Psychology and the Social Order

SOCIAL AMNESIA: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing. By Russell Jacoby. Beacon Press. 191 pp. \$8.95.

STANLEY ARONOWITZ

Among the distinguishing features of our century is the fact that the decline of great social movements has been accompanied by the rise of movements for personal salvation. Even more pronounced has been the tendency of some of those who were leading protagonists of social change to be converted to the belief that happiness can be achieved within the existing order, if only the proper therapeutic technique is employed. Many of the therapeutic theories that were produced in the aftermath of the two Great Wars were derived from the seminal work of Sigmund Freud. Ironically, most attempted to "humanize" psychoanalysis,

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claiming that Freud's work was both too pessimistic and not sufficiently informed by an understanding of the relationship between the individual and society. Thus, Alfred Adler, a self-proclaimed Socialist, became an important figure in the effort after World War I to heal the world's wounds through therapy. Erich Fromm, for his part, never renounced his radical political beliefs. But in the wake of the ravages of fascism and the failure of the allied nations to forge world peace, Fromm became one of the leading theorists of a psychology that held forth the promise of personal happiness without the necessary corollary of radical change.

Just as the "revisions" of Freudian psychoanalysis coincided with the retreat from social conflict, so the defense of classic Freudian theory became a militant attempt to rescue the master from his revisionist followers. Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization*, published twenty years ago, is perhaps the most celebrated effort to unite revolutionary theory with psychoanalysis. Far from accepting the often conservative social and political views of Freud himself, Marcuse argued that the logic of Freudian theory was the missing link that Marxism needed to account for the

historical changes wrought in the 20th century. According to Marcuse, Freud's notions of sexual repression and the conflict between erotic needs and civilization's requirement that individuals cultivate habits of disciplined work and orderly behavior were central to an understanding of how capitalist society barred personal happiness. They were not, as Freud believed, the universal condition of the individual in society.

In the context of the decline of the great social movements of the 1960s and the proliferation of personal panaceas ranging from primal therapy to mysticism in the 1970s, Russell Jacoby's *Social Amnesia* is a worthy successor to Marcuse's project. Like Marcuse, Jacoby attempts to validate the corpus of classical psychoanalysis within a radical framework. However unlike Marcuse, who remained at a fairly high level of abstraction, Jacoby's book is specific and pointed.

Jacoby goes to the mat with some of the leading representatives of humanistic psychotherapy and shows that their answers to the social and personal malaise of our time are only the latest version of conformist ideology. Therapy, for Jacoby, may provide a valuable salve to the distressed psyche. However, he feels that instead of substituting itself for a social and political movement, it should admit that it may alleviate the suffering of individuals but it can do no more.

Indeed, Jacoby does not temper his critique, as Marcuse did, by disclaiming any concern with therapeutic practice. Going beyond theoretical objections to the tendencies of recent psychology, he undertakes an examination of the work of R.D. Laing and David Cooper, considered by many to represent the *avant-garde* of contemporary psychology. Jacoby finds that, despite honorable intentions, even Laing has failed to avoid the pitfalls of "social amnesia." The thrust of his argument is that society disappears as a causal factor in the therapeutic practice of the Laingian model, because the family has been substituted for the complex of social and economic institutions that influence personal life.

While the hidden side of Freud was the view that society demanded the repression of essential needs in order to survive, the revisionists eliminated the significant categories of repression, the unconscious as the dark side of behavior, and the all-important concept that mental health and neurosis were not absolute states but graded features of a continuum. For Freud, neurosis was a characteristic response to a repressive society, and the subject of psychoanalysis was the repressed needs that were located

THEY SANG FOR HORSES

*They sang for horses
but they got the moon
over the bleak fields
and a hard coming of it
through difficult country
and the horses died
and they ate them
because there was nothing else.*

*In their paintings on the walls of caves
and on the decorated skins
there are flowers and crossed sticks
and hoops of baskets and
horses playing with horses
in remote happy places.*

*Love we must take what we get,
we must learn to sing of it.*

Greg Kuzma

in the unconscious. The purpose of therapy, therefore, was to make the individual conscious of the choices that were already present in such phenomena as dreams, jokes and slips of the tongue.

The basic alteration in the classical model introduced by Adler, Fromm and most others was the idea that the ego, not the unconscious, was the subject of psychological theory and practice. In Jacoby's reading, the explosive consequences of sexual repression are not only soft-pedaled by the revisionists but the very notion of repression becomes suspect. Restoring the ego to a prominent place in psychological theory was in effect to rescue the personal will from its eclipse in the Freudian model. Early ego psychologists were no less critical of existing social arrangements than Freud. But Jacoby contends that their condemnation is belied by their adaptive theory: revisionism holds out the hope that individuals can achieve a modicum of satisfaction within capitalist society without benefit of large-scale political and social confrontation.

Jacoby's work is in the tradition of the so-called Frankfurt School of philosophy and social science, among whom Marcuse is best known to American readers. As early as the late 1930s and 1940s, the Frankfurt School was attempting to show that Freud's theory of repression helped explain the possibility of resistance to authoritarian social tendencies in an age of almost total domination. At the same time (together with Wilhelm Reich, one of Freud's major pupils), they believed that the repressed sexuality engendered by the authoritarian family produced an authoritarian character structure within individuals. In their view, the rise of fascism could be ex-

plained in part by the role played by the family in producing persons capable of subordinating themselves to the requirements of society.

Jacoby suggests that the critical content of Freudian theory disappears with the introduction of the concept of the autonomous individual whose character formation is relatively independent of social determinants. In particular, Fromm is accused of having gone further than others in separating the individual from society. In Jacoby's reading of Fromm, society intrudes itself upon the person as an exterior force. Freedom consists in escaping from social constraints instead of being achieved through the changes of society itself. Thus, it is possible for Fromm to regard the "art of loving" as an act of autonomy performed by individuals. The person is no longer a complex of instinctual needs and social demands. Instead, the transformed ego can become an instrument of self-liberation. Ego psychology, according to Jacoby, became a therapy of adjustment to the extent that it claimed the possibility of individual happiness short of measures to transform social institutions.

For Freud, the problem of loving was not that the necessary skills and personal self-confidence were unavailable to most human beings. Love as a human need was rooted in the biological make-up as well as social relations. Its denial in modern life was due to the demands of civilization for the repression of sexuality and other pleasurable needs in the service of social production and political subordination. The distorted character structure was a product of historical "scars" that imprinted themselves upon individuals and society. These were the scars of violence and oppression that resulted from centuries of human self-denial. Jacoby advances the novel idea that Freud's critique of Socialist politics, far from being a critique of its radical implications, was actually based on the narrowness and conservatism of the Socialist movement in his time. Freud attacked the naive notion that all problems of happiness could be resolved by changing economic relationships. For Freud, the historical evidence showed that the family structure and the consequences of sexual repression were not specific to capitalist society and were only partially formed by economic relationships.

Jacoby's desire to affirm the radical implications of Freudian psychology does not blind him to the weaknesses of the master. Freud is criticized for a nonspecific characterization of "civilization." As a Marxist, Jacoby places the

fate of individuals and societies within a class context. Yet he remains critical of the Marxist refusal to integrate psychology into revolutionary theory: "If the specific tendency of bourgeois and liberal thought has been toward psychologism—the reduction of social concepts to individual and psychological ones—the specific tendency of socialist and Marxist thought has been toward the opposite: the reduction of individual concepts to a desiccated notion of history and society."

In some respects, Jacoby raises more problems than he succeeds in answering. Among them, the question of the nature of human nature remains unresolved. In criticizing the elevation of the ego to a central place in psychological theory, Jacoby counterposes the Freudian-Marxist view that individuals are the dialectical relationship between the unconscious instinctual structure, which has historical as well as biological roots, and the structure of social domination based upon class oppression. This framework hardly avoids the problem of the specific content of the individual that distinguishes him or her from all others. In this respect, Jacoby's critical contribution far surpasses his attempted reconstructions. It may be that the concept of the individual as "an ensemble of social relations" is all one can offer to various explanations that attempt to root personal identity in ontological categories. But the certainty with which Jacoby asserts his position remains unconvincing.

Jacoby's critique of conformist psychology is devastating as far as it goes. But it has not covered enough ground

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to lay claim to comprehensiveness. Absent in his analysis is an examination of the work of Horney, Sullivan and the phenomenologists who attempted to apply the philosophy of Husserl to psychology. I wish that *Social Amnesia* contained a discussion of Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, rather than Laing and Cooper, whose theoretical contribution is threadbare by comparison. Despite these reservations, Jacoby's effort to show the consequences of the fashionable departures from Freud in terms of the retreat from social action is largely successful. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

I was riveted, troubled and in a way tormented by Sam Shepard's two new one-act plays, *Killer's Head* and *Action* (American Place Theatre). That is probably what Shepard wanted. As much as the play, the struggle within myself requires explanation.

In the very brief opening play, *Killer's Head*, a murderer about to be electrocuted speaks his inner thoughts. These consist of his persistent enthusiasm for race horses and motorcars. It is the drama (if it is drama) of nullity.

The second play, *Action*, contains plenty of that, but it is action without beginning or end, action without aim or reasoned meaning. It proceeds from nothing to nothingness. It begins in silence, with two hairless men and two slatternly women at a bare table sipping tea in slow draughts. After a while one of the men says, "I'm looking forward to my life. . . . I am looking forward to me." The rest is incoherence. He has not accumulated any experience from which he can make sense. He is null and void. He is capable only of sudden rages of impotent frustration in which he smashes the chairs he sits on until there are none left. In this vacuity the four people—in undefined space—"entertain" themselves by reading from a tattered book, but since they do not remember where they left off they cannot find the place to resume. Without utensils, they eat the last turkey available to them. They are at a dead end.

All is "symbol." In most traditional art, symbolic significance emerges from a context of action (or imagery) "imitating" or suggesting a continuity of recognizable behavior and phenomena in a real world. In these Shepard plays the symbols are only notations or abstractions. The context which they are pre-

sumed to denote is taken for granted. We are supposed to agree that our lives mean little: that they are hardly more than a series of spasms or jerks.

Thus, one of the women suddenly takes to nibbling and licking her arm, a sort of masturbation. In the absence of straight chairs, one of the men seats himself in a commodious but soiled armchair, which he enjoys and resolves never to leave. But he soon realizes that that is impossible. Then, when he tries to rise from his comfortable, but no longer tenable position, the armchair overturns and wedges him beneath it. In the end we see him crawling about under this carapace, like a turtle, while behind him the women are hanging their ragged things on a clothesline.

Many of these images are theatrically arresting. There are also several speeches that are poetically allusive. One of the men tells a story about a family of moths fascinated by a flame. Most of them avoid a close approach. One of them is bolder. "He embraced her [the flame] completely," the recital goes, "and his whole body became as red as fire. The leader of the moths who was watching from far off with the other moths saw that the flame and the moth appeared to be one. He turned to the other moths and said, 'He learned what he wanted to know but he was the only one who understands it.'" True knowledge is acquired only through union with what is outside ourselves—often powerfully consuming and sometimes lethal—in other words, through a "mystic" embrace.

There is a telling perception in this, but I wonder whether Shepard and those who write in his manner really have plunged into the "flame" and united themselves with it, or whether, in this instance, the "flame" exists. I mean that, though it has become something of a convention to say that our lives are empty, one may doubt that such statements or inferences have been objectively validated through a close mingling with and participation in the substance of actual fact.

It is certainly true that most of us are bewildered, distraught and rendered miserable by the fraudulence and chaos of the moment, but something rich and real always remains which keeps us sentient and determined to find meaning and achieve values. What too often occurs in dramatic abstractions of the latest stripe is that, while much is alleged about "life," life itself is absent. And by life I here mean intimate contact with the sensory, social, historical, psychological, spiritual world, bodied forth so that a sense of concrete involvement has been experienced on all these

levels. Life is a "mystery," but it is more or less always present for us: felt, touched, smelled, acted upon as it acts upon us. It makes for a consciousness of ourselves and of others—no matter how befuddled we may find ourselves.

I know only one incontrovertible truth: human beings wish to endure, to live. Were it not so humankind would have disappeared long ago. Though we suppose our age one of the most disheartening and painful—without sustained faith or moral stamina—I very much suspect that there has never been a halcyon day, a time when the world was free of widespread misery for the greatest number.

Yet withal there has been creation and even joy through our seemingly non-rational endeavor to make it all come out "right."

In most art nowadays, and in *avant-garde* theatre especially, there is an inclination to abstract from the already abstract. The tendency is generally a mode of escape without the courage, energy and passion of "the moth who merged with the flame." For myself, I am tired of the expression of futility; I am tired of tiredness. I am nauseated by the cry that all is nothingness. We act, we produce an infinity of splendors, we play, sing, we try to earn a living, we protect our children and we strive, as we should, for more and greater life!

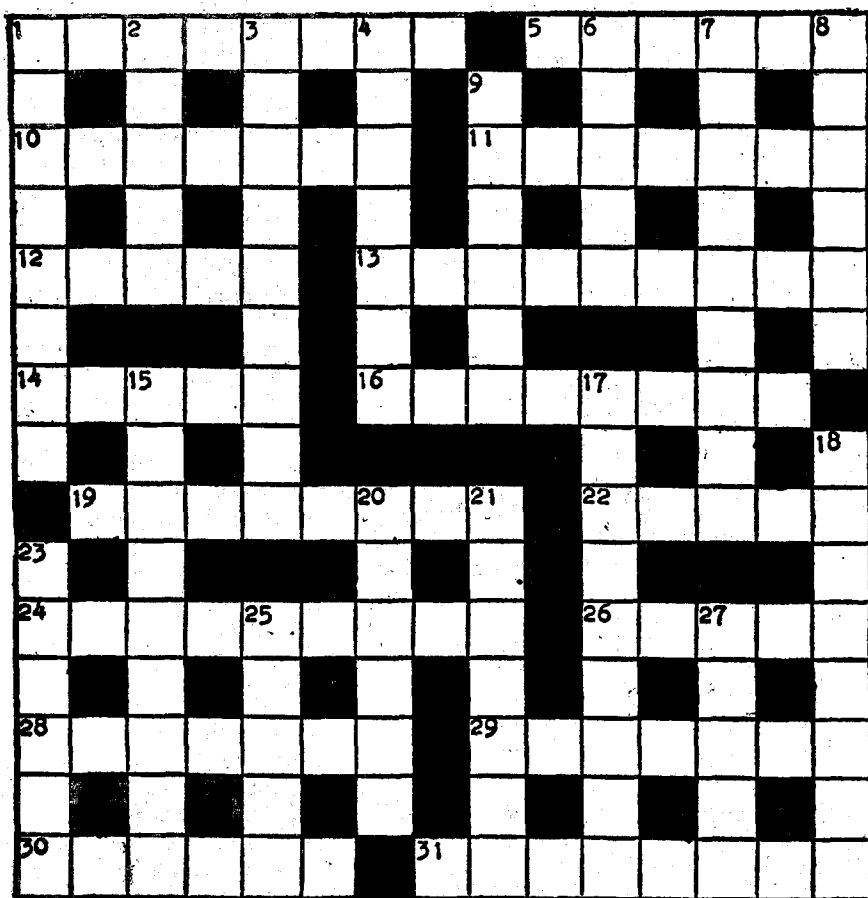
None of this is said in condemnation of Shepard's new plays. He is an undoubtedly gifted person of considerable stage intuition; most of his plays are ironic protests against the common ache we now suffer. Even more, there is a buried religious strain in them. *Killer's Head* and *Action* once again sound the moan of devastation in our consciousness, but it worries me that in Shepard's myth making so much of the actual world is missing and so much generalization is pictured in minimal flashes.

In *Operation Sidewinder* and *The Tooth of Crime* Shepard was beginning to add certain realities to his symbols, fantasies and abstractions. I wish he would go further in that vein; otherwise he will remain congealed in the situation the artist in his *Melodrama Play* declared himself to be. "I was admired from coast to coast by the people dearest to me. . . . By the people of my generation. I was admired and cherished because . . . [my] song reflected accurately thoughts and feelings of our time and place. . . . But it was the only song I had. The only one. And I became stuck. . . . I got stuck somewhere in the middle."

The new plays are very well produced. Especially noteworthy are two actors: R.A. Dow and Richard Lynch. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1583

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 23 down
- 5 If you can figure out the clue, put this in. (6)
- 10 Guest's "heap o' living" for typical workers? (7)
- 11 Signals where the part can't be true with funny fellows. (7)
- 12 Hanging city of France? (5)
- 13 It might be prescribed as a matter of difficulty with a tangled net. (9)
- 14 They used to be found in a free state. (5)
- 16 What the 14 might have wished bad with a game could be rather filthy. (8)
- 19 Makes a bad priest, if given to outbursts. (8)
- 22 Part of the act of painting, perhaps. (5)
- 24 A price per sheet out of it? (4-5)
- 26 What they often do to the good, along with the bones? (5)
- 28 Spreading rumor. (7)
- 29 Give evidence and gamble on nothing, understand? (7)
- 30 To employ, by the sound of it, further up? (6)
- 31 Imposes a tax on she-donkeys? (8)

DOWN

- 1 22 might be in play. (8)
- 2 and 25 down Come in and use leverage in the business! (10)
- 3, 17 and 6 down They reputedly speak

- in the dark. (5,4,4,2,3,5)
- 4 Nothing auricular about a famous river! (7)
- 6 See 3 down
- 7 Might be found below a hen and inside a form of binder. (9)
- 8 Steers wrong, but perhaps fixes the course again. (6)
- 9 and 27 down Passes in a continuous course, and catches what the winner gets. (11)
- 15 It's striking with a little spirit taking part in it. (9)
- 17 See 3 down
- 18 The lady's jewelry is the main product! (8)
- 20 No standing in for 15, with a concealed weapon to call in question. (6)
- 21 Formally finishes 1 across? (7)
- 23 and 1 across *Habillant*—for those salad days? (6,8)
- 25 See 2 down
- 27 See 9 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1582

ACROSS: 1 Unleavened bread; 9 Detects; 10 Atavism; 11 Rarely; 12 Vilifies; 14 Half-dollar; 15 Kepi; 17 Code; 19 Scholiasts; 22 Unguents; 23 Agouti; 25 Trevino; 26 Concern; 27 Russian roulette. DOWN: 1 Under the counter; 2 Lateral; 3 Accolade; 4 Easy; 5 Eradicator; 6 Beat it; 7 Edifice; 8 Domestic science; 13 Blackthorn; 16 Diagonal; 18 Digress; 20 Student; 21 Gemini; 24 Echo.

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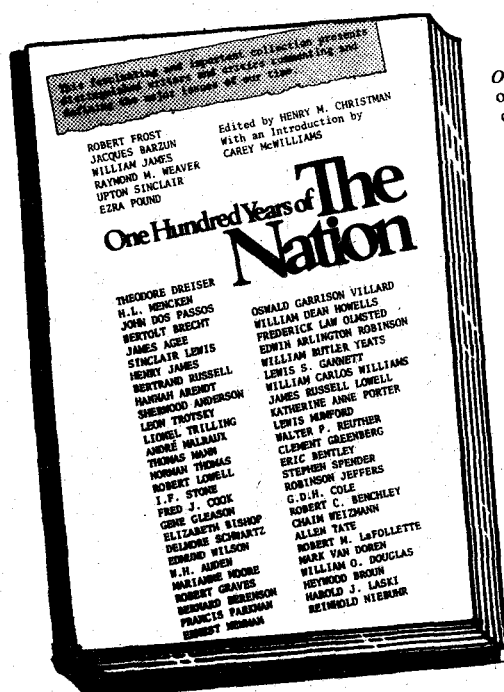
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